

THE AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME IV

NOVEMBER, 1898

NUMBER 3

CHICAGO VACATION SCHOOLS.


"CHICAGO, ILL., August 12, 1898.

"*VACATION-SCHOOL TEACHERS:*

Just a few lines to let you know that I am one of the many mothers in this district who think that the vacation school has been a wonderful success. It has taught morals and manners to our children. We never could afford to take our children into the country, and we can't be thankful enough for the good you teachers have done to our children. They have been kept off the streets, and we don't have to drive them to school. The teachers have treated the children as though they were their own. The children never get tired telling us what they saw on the excursions.

"Yours, respectfully,

"ONE OF THE MOTHERS."



MARCHING TO THE WOODS

It was just grand. Hoping that a vacation school will be in every school next year, I am

The above letter, taken from among two hundred commendatory letters from parents relative to the vacation-school movement, tells the whole story. What further evidence is needed to convince those who gave service or money to the cause that their labors were appreciated and their money well spent!

"What shall we do with our children during the long summer vacation?" is the problem that confronts all parents who live in the densely populated districts of large cities. Any movement that tends to care for the children and keep them from the dangers and debasing influences of the streets is heralded with delight. If they are interested but a few hours per day, it has a softening and directing influence upon the plays and manners of the children for the remaining portion of the time, gives the child something to think about, and temporarily closes the devil's workshop.

It was in the attempted solution of the vacation problem that the vacation-school movement originated. Within the last five years all of the large cities have been grappling with the situation, but the experimenting has been entirely along industrial lines of education. The children have been taught to cobble shoes, recane chairs, mend old clothes, etc.; each good in itself, but not especially conducive to the highest development of that power within a child which makes for individuality and character building. It was left to the women's clubs of Chicago and vicinity to attempt a solution through purely educational methods, and for this purpose sufficient funds were raised to establish and maintain five schools. The committee selected the Jones, Seward, Montefiore, Adams, and Polk Street schools, where the greatest need of vacation schools was apparent—schools where there is so little that is natural and so much that is artificial, among people that have formed the bases of nearly all sociological theories, people upon whom innumerable volumes have been written and many experiments tried.

Cards of admission had been distributed among the principals of surrounding public, private, and parochial schools, with instructions to give them to those children who in their judgment would be most benefited by attending a vacation school. The truant officers of these districts were also used to ferret out the worthy ones.

The principal of each vacation school was told to accept the first four hundred children that presented admission cards. The number by necessity was limited to four hundred, as it was

intended to have but forty pupils to each teacher. On the morning of July 5 nearly one thousand children came to each school, except at the Jones, and clamored for admission. At one of the schools it was found necessary to call in the police to remove the parents who crowded the halls of the building, insisting that their children must be accepted.

At the Polk Street School about fifty of the children were "held up" on their way to school and their cards of admission taken from them. It took some time to detect the thieves and give the cards to their rightful owners. If a child was absent from school two



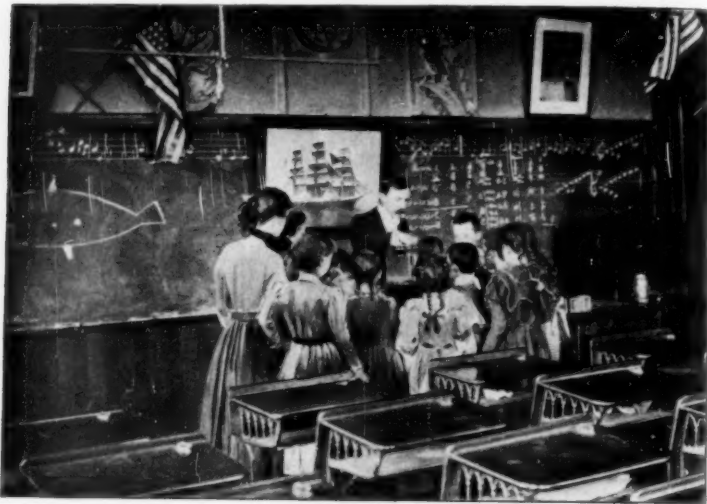
A GROUP OF VACATION-SCHOOL GIRLS

days in succession, his place was given to one on the waiting list. From twenty-five to fifty presented themselves each morning to see if there were any vacant places.

In the above an exception is made in the case of the Jones School, on account of its isolation. At this school none were turned away. Four hundred and thirty-six were enrolled, fifteen of whom came from the Holden School and fifteen from St. Peter's School. The remaining 406 lived within three blocks of the Jones. This membership is very large, when we consider that there is an enrollment of only 550 in the regular school. Two hundred and sixty that came the first day remained during the entire six weeks.

Each school was equipped with a kindergarten and two manual-training outfits, eight aquariums, about forty window boxes twelve ant nests and six insect holders, colored chalk and water colors. The aquariums, window boxes, ant nests, and insect

holders were to receive the material gathered on excursions, for use in the schools. The regular sessions were from 9 to 12. The subjects taught, for which no books were allowed, were nature study, drawing and painting from nature, music, gymnastics and games, sewing and manual training. In each



A CLASS IN NATURE STUDY

school two teachers were employed for nature study, two for drawing, one for music, one for gymnastics, two for sewing, two for manual training, and two for the kindergarten. Besides these teachers there were 150 of last year's normal-school graduates, each of whom donated a week of service to the vacation schools, and to their efficient help much of the success of the schools is due. Their training at the normal school not only fitted them to lead the children, but often they were a source of inspiration to the regular teachers.

Of the seventy teachers and directors twenty-nine were from the Chicago public schools, five from outside public schools, twenty-one from private schools, four from social settlements, and eleven without previous experience in teaching. The average

amount paid each teacher for six weeks' service was \$50.60. No amount of praise can do justice to the untiring efforts of these teachers, who for so slight a money consideration devoted their summer vacation to education and the betterment of the children under their charge.



A PAINTING CLASS

In determining the nationality of the children who attend the vacation schools we characterized those whose parents were born in the United States as Americans. We experienced some difficulty in classifying some, especially those at the Jones School. For instance, we ran across this combination: A boy's parents were born in Germany; after coming to this country, the father died and the mother married a negro. The boy had a negro brother in the kindergarten. To further complicate matters, the boy's elder sister married a Chinaman. So the white German boy had a colored brother and a Chinese brother-in-law. Fortunately for us the family was small.

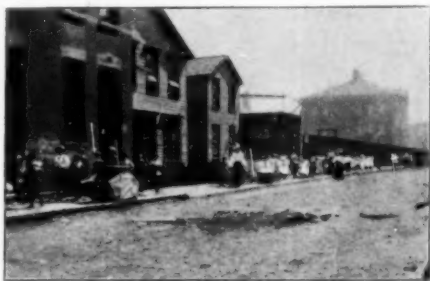
In the Jones School we found 46 per cent. Russian Jews, 20 per cent. Italians, 12 per cent. German Jews, 7 per cent. Irish,

5 per cent. colored, 5 per cent. Americans, 2 per cent. Chinese, 3 per cent. miscellaneous. Polk Street School: 35 per cent. Jewish, 30 per cent. Italian, 10 per cent. German, 7 per cent. Irish, 7 per cent. Bohemian, 4 per cent. American, and 7 per cent. composed of all other nationalities. At the Adams School: 40 per cent. Swedish, 20 per cent. Irish, 14 per cent. German, 14 per cent. American, and 12 per cent. mixed. Montefiore: 40 per cent. Italian, 20 per cent. German, 11 per cent. Swedish and Norwegian, 10 per cent. Irish, 5 per cent. American, 4 per cent. Polish, and 10 per cent. mixed. Seward: 32 per cent. German, 22 per cent. Bohemian, 15 per cent. Irish, 8 per cent. English, 6 per cent. American, 4 per cent. Polish, and 13 per cent. miscellaneous. Summarizing, we find that in the vacation schools we had 20 per cent. Italian, 18 per cent. Jewish, 18 per cent. German, 12 per cent. Irish, 11 per cent. Swedish, 6 per cent. Bohemian, 6 per cent. American, 2 per cent. Polish, and 1 per cent. colored.

The discipline in the schools was something remarkable. No children were sent away permanently for bad conduct, and there was but little need of reprimands. This becomes more wonderful when we consider the mixture of nationalities and number of schools represented. Each of the five schools, excepting the Jones, had a fair representation from at least eight surrounding schools, public, private, and parochial, none of the four schools having over 60 per cent. of its pupils who lived in the boundaries of the district within which the school was located.

In many cases we succeeded in keeping children in school that could not be kept in regular schools, but the reformatory effect as regards "bumming" from school was not as prominent as we had hoped. A boy who has the habit of running away from school will do the same in vacation schools, and take the risk of giving sufficiently valid excuses to enable him to hold a place in his class excursions. The effect, however, of bringing such a boy under the influence of a tactful teacher and into contact with nature cannot in six weeks be determined. We know, however, of individual cases where boys would not attend the regular school, who never missed a day in the vacation school,

and these same boys have been of great assistance in bringing others into the school. Some have attended on condition that their chums would be admitted. Many children who received no admission cards presented the flag pins, claiming that they were entitled to school privileges because they had bought flags, which had been sold throughout the schools. About twenty parents took their children out of school because they said they supposed that regular school instruction would be given in all branches. Their



MARCHING FROM POLK STREET SCHOOL

children had failed to make the grade, and they thought they might make up the work in the summer. A school without books was an unheard-of departure, and many parents as well as visitors were curious to know what was going to be done. When it developed that the book of nature was to be opened, and that the summer would be spent in reading headlines and noting some of the contents of the book, some became so interested that they were desirous of reading a few chapters.

As outlined in the curriculum, all work was correlated with excursions. The children were taken into the country or to the city parks. Variety of scenery and productions were carefully considered, a typical farm visited, and the children were brought into close contact with the beauties and harmonies of nature. On these excursions we sought for impressions rather than expressions. The expressions were cultivated during the four days of the week the children were kept in school, through the mediums of oral speech, drawing, painting, singing, and manual training.

Every school was taken from its environment once every week. At first we went to city parks for the purpose of familiarizing ourselves with the handling of children, but even these

trips were productive of much good. A little girl seven years of age informed us that she had never been to the park before. I asked her if she had ever ridden on the street car. She replied: "Yes, I've hitched, but I never sat up straight like this before."



STREET IN FRONT OF JONES SCHOOL

On these trips we observed the natural instincts of the children, and we learned more of their characteristics and inner lives than we could learn in a year of regular school work.

On one of the farms we visited the children were given all the milk they could drink and all the berries they could eat. But they drank and ate sparingly until we had wandered away,

when they returned and hurriedly feasted, filling their pockets with berries and bottles with milk. A description of one of these excursions, as reported by one of the teachers, is so vivid that I quote it in full: "Our second excursion was auspiciously started by a softly cloudy day, which promised shelter from the hot sun's rays, with little danger of rain. The children marched in good and regular order to the station, bearing greasy bags, newspaper bundles, and dirty boxes of watermelon slices, hard-boiled eggs, sausage, bakery cakes, well crushed, and pop galore. Many whose delectable lunches were in the least accessible had them eaten before we reached our destination—Thornton, Ill. It was pathetic to see the children rush for the ill-smelling and dusty chickweed of the roadside. One of their chief questions, iterated and reiterated at the park last week, had been: 'Can't we pick the flowers?' And this time, when we started, I said, 'We may pick whatever we choose, boys and girls, when we get into

the real country; and verily they did; and what is more, many clung to the poor, faded, smelly things all day and carried them home, along with the fresher and daintier flowers picked later. After a tramp through the woods, one little girl looked up into my face and said: 'Teacher, is this the woods?' And such wondrous things as they did find! 'Teacher, we found an apple tree and a banana tree by the river.' I told them more about the banana trees, one of which they had seen at the park conservatory last week, and helped to satisfy them that it could scarcely grow here; but alas! the crab-apple tree was there, and



JUST LEAVING THE CARS

how they did pick the little green apples! And the wonder was that so few offered to eat them. One boy said, as he poured a capful into my basket: 'I am going to take these home, so I can remember the trip.' Some of the children who had wandered away from us came wildly and excitedly back, tumbling over each other and calling: 'We've seen a bear! we've seen a bear!' From their description it must have been a large and timid dog, though they did insist that it was a bear: 'Because we ought to know; didn't we see one in Lincoln Park?' Such a happy day, chock-full of experiences of beautiful things and wondrous things! It seemed almost like fairyland, and I wondered, as the train pulled out, how they could bear to think of returning to their dirty, cramped homes, and odorous streets."

For the purpose of answering the oft-repeated questions, "How did your excursions differ from a picnic?" and, "What did you do on these excursions?" I will say that each teacher

was held responsible for the instruction and discipline of a certain number of children, usually about fifteen, and she was directed to keep them with her at least one-half of the time we were to remain. During this time the drawing teachers taught



ON THE BEACH AT EDGEBROOK

drawing and painting, the others taught nature study; some following the course of an old river bed, some observing animal life, while others directed their energies toward plant life. On the farms the farmer hitched his horses to the mower and cut grass, and went through much of the machinery work that is done on the farm. About an hour before we were to return the children were turned loose to do as they wished. This time was usually spent in games and songs under the direction of the gymnastic and music teachers.

The most pleasurable and profitable excursion of the summer was taken on the "Whaleback" to Milwaukee. About fifteen hundred children, 70 per cent. of whom were never on a boat before, enjoyed this ride. The boat ran near the shore, which

gave an excellent opportunity to study local geography, and with memory, pencil, and brush the incidents of the trip were well preserved for expression in the schoolroom.

The knowledge gained in the parks gave great pleasure to



IN THE RIVER AT MOMENCE

the children, as they rolled along the railways on the following excursions, in the recognition and naming of the trees near the tracks and in the forests beyond. It was a matter of surprise that, if a name was given at all to a tree seen from the car window, it was almost always correct, leading one to wonder what might possibly be accomplished for the children of the city of Chicago if our park commissioners would set apart a certain small portion of land in each park in which might be cultivated, not only familiar trees, but also the common grains and vegetables. If the children had seen such beds of plants, they would not have called a potato patch a corn field, nor a hornet's nest in a large tree a cabbage, nor would they have expected to pick potatoes from vines in the same manner as grapes are gathered.

In the excursions to the country the good accomplished

cannot be estimated, and to attempt to make a complete report of it in its bearings upon the character of the children is a task, it seems to me, impossible. It is not sentiment to say that in the lives of these children the report will finally be written.

I am not bold enough to sit down and with the scalpel and microscope seek to analyze and place the impressions made upon the character of the little fellow whom I found sitting alone upon a high bank, beneath the shadow of a great oak; he was looking across the valley at the fresh, green fields on the plain, fringed by the growth of timber beyond, over which the shadows of the summer clouds were chasing each other, emphasizing the freshness and beauty of the scene. I sat down beside him. He turned his face, made radiant with the joy of a new possession, and said: "Is dis purty ting ours, is dis all in de United States?" And yet there are those who say that we should teach more facts to cultivate the love of country. At a cost of less than \$1,400 two thousand children per week for six weeks were carried into the country, in view of beautiful landscapes, among myriads of birds and flowers, to "a world unknown." Over 70 per cent. of the children had never been two miles from their own doorstep. These excursions were made possible by the helpful attitude of the transportation companies. They did everything in their power to make the excursions a success. Twelve thousand children on over thirty excursions without an accident!

SPECIAL WORK.

Credit is due Professor William P. Beeching, supervisor of nature study, for much of the report on special work that follows.

NATURE STUDY.

I believe that the most efficient work in this department can be accomplished by teachers who are fitted by training and experience to be what are called "all-around teachers," that is, teachers who can give fair lessons in painting or drawing and good lessons in language, or an interesting exercise in nature study. They accomplish very much more with the children we

have in the vacation schools than the teacher who is merely an expert in a special department. If specialists are to be employed as nature-study teachers, such persons should be selected as have been fairly well trained for the work in a training school or in the school of experience. No person who simply likes nature for the sake of nature alone should be chosen as an instructor in this department. Such people are almost certainly lecturers and not teachers. They are impatient to have the children see at once the thing in which they themselves



CLASS WORK IN THE FIELD

are interested, thus robbing the pupil of the great pleasure of discovery and the valuable discipline coming from real investigation. In such schools as these there is not time to train teachers in methods of work, no matter how good material they may be made of, nor how well "educated" they may be.

The study of nature in the vacation schools may be characterized as a study of life. Great care was exercised to preserve all forms. The boy who caught the bumblebee in his hand, and christened it a Spanish bug on account of its yellow back, was taught that peace with Spain was about to be declared, and he should release the bug, though the Spaniard did strike him with his stiletto.

MANUAL TRAINING.

In this department the teachers attempted to utilize material gathered during their trips to the woods. The outcome of their efforts was most satisfactory in the construction of easels, picture frames, flower-pot holders, etc., showing much ingenuity and taste. Children of all grades took this work, and the results plainly showed that our present plan of beginning manual training

in the seventh and eighth grades is "hitching the horse to the wrong end of the wagon."

DRAWING AND PAINTING.

The drawing teachers all sought to cooperate with the nature-study teachers in their work, and the result was very



ON MR. SWEET'S FARM AT GLENWOOD

satisfactory. I am convinced that for field work all attempts to represent nature in any of its forms should be by means of water colors, and not by crayons or pencils. Some advocate the crayon at first, but, judging from the summer's work, the handling of the brush is freer, and certainly the color of the paint is softer, much more pleasing, and more truthful than the crayon.

MUSIC AND GAMES.

The music as taught in the vacation schools was recreative in its nature, the emphasis being put upon the interpretation of songs and vocal cultivation. A carefully selected programme of

typical songs, correlating with the work of the school, introduced the children at once to good music and real experiences. Songs of industry, nature, and patriotism not only furnished themes for vocal activity, but, when the children were vitalized and aroused through the moods of the songs, dramatic expression in rhythms and games followed naturally, the children reveling in freedom



A TYPICAL GROUP FROM THE JONES

of motion and spontaneous exercise. Vocal technique was controlled by idea, and the children were led to artistic song through interpretation. Stories served as connecting links here and there, emphasizing points. The military moods made for good order, self-control, and discipline, and a strong reaction upon bearing and physical conditions was observed. The industrial themes gave opportunity for reviving the traditions of the trades and guild life, while nature songs brought the life of bird and bee and visions of green fields within dingy city walls. Enthusiasm remained unabated during the term. Each school had a very successful kindergarten, and three of the schools had

a deaf class, under the direction of Miss McGowan, that did remarkable work in so short a time.

Two bathrooms—one at the Jones School and one at the Montefiore—were maintained during the six weeks. There



JIM

was an attendant at each bath, who on an average bathed about twenty children per day, and washed and combed as many more. One of the agreeable features of the baths, which goes to prove that soap is a wonderful civilizer, is the disgust that the children show when they put on their filthy clothes after a bath. They at once see that their clean bodies and soiled clothes do not harmonize.

The Public-School Art Society and some of the regular schools loaned their fine collections of pictures to the various schools, which gave beauty to the decorations and helped to enhance the artistic taste of the children. The total expense of the five schools, including the excursions and pay of teachers, was less than \$6,000.

SEWING.

All the girls took this work, and the sewing was probably more reluctantly missed than any other subject. It was really surprising to observe the interest and faithfulness in this department. Parents as well as children sought the work in these classes.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

In reviewing the work of the vacation schools and weighing carefully the many difficulties encountered, some of which may be avoided in the future, I present the following suggestions: The superintendent should be appointed not later than February, so that he may have time carefully to arrange a curriculum and

outline the work to be accomplished. He should have the power to select the teachers, thus making him directly responsible for the educational work. Each school must be provided with a strong principal, whose duty shall be to carry out the work outlined by the superintendent. He will have no time to do class work.

There should be no "head teachers" in the various schools, but all should receive the same pay for the same amount of work. There should be directors for each department, who, if appointed in time, could plan the work and each take charge of a class in some one of the schools. An exception to the above should be made in the case of directors of nature study and excursions. The teachers should receive more money for their services. Only teachers of similar educational ideas should be placed in the same school, but individual schools should attempt the solution of the various problems that present themselves. Sloyd might be taught in one school and manual training in another; fancy work in one and plain sewing in another. As long as the schools are experimental, why not attempt something that would benefit all who are trying to discover what is best for the American child?

The teachers should be appointed in time, so that they may make the necessary preparation for the work. They should visit all of the excursion grounds before the beginning of school at least twice with the director of nature study, who should have plainly outlined what is to be seen and how to see it. Frequent teachers' meetings should be held before and during the term, for the purpose of comparing notes and receiving suggestions. At least three parents' meetings should be held at each school during the season, and teachers of one school should have a



A TYPICAL POLK STREET GIRL

kindly interest in all, feeling that their school is only a part of a system. At least two cadets should be assigned to each school for the entire term at a small salary, say 50 cents per day.

Everything considered, the most successful excursions were where the schools were divided into two divisions—grammar and primary—each going at different times.

A TYPICAL PROGRAMME OF WORK.

Class	Time, 9-9:40	Time, 9:45-10:25	Time, 10:30-11:10	Time, 11:15-11:55
	Subject	Subject	Subject	Subject
A ¹	Nature study	Drawing	Music or gymnastics	Boys, manual training Girls, sewing
A ²	Nature study	Drawing	Music or gymnastics	Boys, manual training Girls, sewing
B ¹	Drawing	Music or gymnastics	Boys, manual training Girls, sewing	Nature study
B ²	Drawing	Music or gymnastics	Boys, manual training Girls, sewing	Nature study
C ¹	Music or gymnastics	Boys, manual training Girls, sewing	Nature study	Drawing
C ²	Music or gymnastics	Boys, manual training Girls, sewing	Nature study	Drawing
D ¹	Boys, manual training Girls, sewing	Nature study	Drawing	Music or gymnastics
D ²	Boys, manual training Girls, sewing	Nature study	Drawing	Music or gymnastics

The one great lesson that the vacation schools teach is that this class of children can be reached only through personal contact with the teacher. Advice, direction, and admonition mean nothing to them. A teacher must come down to the children, play their games, think their thoughts, and gradually lead them to understand the natural laws of the Creator. In the regular school work the average teacher begins her cut-and-dried programme at 9 o'clock and finishes it promptly at 3:30. In six weeks she knows the names of the children of her room, and possibly can tell whether John is bright or dull, mischievous or angelic. She has learned that, since the child was branded by the previous teacher; but as to his tastes, delights, occupation out of school hours, the games he likes to play, the places he haunts, or the hovel he calls home—all these concern her not. In the vacation schools the teacher has to know her pupils at once. She goes with them



A PUPIL FROM THE JONES

to the woods, walks with them by the brook, hears the same birds, beholds the same landscape; and in the shade of some friendly oak she listens to the sad or happy tales told by the children of their home life; she hears how the mother depends upon John's selling papers for the support of the family; she sings songs of nature, patriotism, and love. The teacher thus gives her pupils the attention and the affection which the children crave. Many children have we heard say: "Oh, if our regular school was like this!" The secret of successful work in vacation schools, as well as in other schools, lies in the spirit with which the teachers enter the work. With a corps of natural teachers, having the spirit, with sufficient money to carry on the work as it should be done, the vacation schools of Chicago would be one of the greatest of factors in training children for citizenship. I

believe the time is not far distant when the people will awaken to the fact that in congested and poverty-stricken districts vacations are the devil's seed time, and that the schools should be kept open the year round, with a change in the course of study to meet the demands of the seasons—the year divided into four periods and teachers receiving their vacations as do the professors in the University of Chicago. With the period of idleness cared for, we shall be a long step toward the solution of the social problem which confronts us today.

O. J. MILLIKEN.



THE LAST DROP OF MILK

THE MOVEMENT FOR VACATION SCHOOLS.



MARCHING TO THE FARM

THERE is an old-fashioned notion that pictures vacation as a period of relaxing all the restraining discipline of the school year—a time when the whole being can stretch itself, as it were, and attain fuller proportions by doing as it listeth, running about in green fields, chasing butterfly, or bird, or bumblebee, climbing trees and wading brooks, or browsing in pure animal enjoyment.

The growth of our large cities, with the consequent crowding of population, has changed all this, and what grass there is no longer invites the tripping feet, but sternly warns "keep off!" Birds and butterflies have fled to the parks, too distant for the child to follow; and the buzz of bees is replaced by the gong of the electric-car Moloch, claiming the street for his own, and sacrificing all who may dispute his sovereignty.

So vacation now brings with it something of worry and trouble, even to the well-to-do who make every provision to occupy and safeguard their children—plan country visits or excursions, picnics and parties, supply toys and games and books, and, when the vacation is over, send the children back to school with a sigh of satisfaction that nothing has happened, and that eternal question, "Mamma, what shall I do next?" will not now be heard.

But for the children of the poor the close of the school year opens a period fraught with special danger and difficulty. Living in crowded tenements, where often kitchen and living room

and sleeping chamber are all within the same four walls, they have no space in which their natural activity may spend itself. It is "Johnny, don't do this," and "Johnny, don't do that," until in sheer despair Johnny must flee to the street for such diversion as he would have. The dust and dirt are better than the "don'ts" dinning in his ears. Toys he has none; even the garbage box or ash pile may furnish a temporary plaything. His greatest danger, however, lies in the enforced idleness and the company in which it is apt to push him. That this is no idle fear for our children is sufficiently attested by the history of our street gangs, with their boys from nine years up, and the number of juvenile arrests. An investigation of one district in Chicago proved that juvenile arrests increased 60 per cent. in July and August, and the inference seems justified that the closing of school and the enforced idle street life of the boys were its cause.

The recognition of the necessity of doing something to overcome the evil of these conditions has led to what may now, since it has become so widespread, be called the vacation-school movement and the movement for playgrounds, both having as motive the desire to take the children from the streets, the latter wishing to provide place in which the children may work at their pleasures, the former wishing to provide and prove work itself pleasure.

The vacation school seeks to teach resourcefulness, that element in which our common schools seem lacking, by giving the hands something to do. Many toys are given to children for which they care little; but who ever heard of any child that would not be interested in a tool box? And tools, in one way and another, are the sources of attraction in vacation schools.

So long ago as 1872 the school committee of Cambridge, Mass., urged "the need of providing occupation for those children whose natural guardians are unable to do so. For two months in the summer the schools are closed . . . the scholars who can be taken into the country profit by the vacation. But it is a time of idleness, often of crime, with many who are left to roam the streets, with no friendly hand to guide them, save

that of the police. Our system seems to need vacation schools . . . in which the hours and methods of study should be adapted to the season." (See Annual Report for 1897, Cambridge, Mass.) But, in spite of the wisdom of the committee



SINGING IN THE WOODS

and repeated mooting of the subject, with requests for an appropriation, the Cambridge council has not yet seen fit to provide the necessary funds. But there, as in other cities, it has remained for women to be sufficiently far-sighted and sympathetic to find the ways and means to satisfy the growing need of the children, and to avert the threatening evils of the street. The first vacation school was established in Boston in 1885, and since then New York, Chicago, Cambridge, Cleveland, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, and New Haven have organized vacation schools. All alike hope that before long the boards of education in their respective cities will undertake their management. New York has already done so, after an object-lesson of four years conducted by the Association for the Improvement of the Poor,

while the Philadelphia board this year opened three schools on petition from the Civic Club.

One of the most significant statements is that of Superintendent Cogswell, of Cambridge, Mass., in his report for 1897.



A LUNCH ON THE FARM

He says: "The value of these schools consists not so much in what shall be learned during the few weeks they are in session, as in the fact that no boy or girl shall be left with unoccupied time. Idleness is an opportunity for evil-doing. . . . These schools will cost money. Reform schools also cost money. . . . It is by no means certain that, considered in the light of dollars and

cents only, it is not true economy for the city to spend money for vacation schools."

In 1896 Mr. Daniel Cameron, president of the Chicago board of education, in his outgoing address said, in effect, that "the problem of the children in crowded districts in the summer was one which the board would find it must very soon face; that there seemed pressing necessity to cope with the growing evil conditions; and that the vacation school, as conducted that year in Chicago, seemed to offer a solution of the difficulty."

A great number of teachers and principals testify to the demoralizing effect of the long weeks of idleness and the necessity of spending the greater part of the early fall months in overcoming the summer deterioration.

In the following pages the attempt is made to give some account of the vacation schools in regard to which any information has been obtainable. If the list is incomplete, it is because

no record of other schools has been found. No attempt, however, is made to include the many summer classes of one kind and another which have for years been maintained by individuals and societies, with the same motive, perhaps, but less consciously understood, and which have done good service in combating the weariness, or worse, of the many idle hours.

Boston, 1885.— Though from Cambridge comes the first mention of vacation schools, to Boston belongs the honor of being the pioneer actually to realize them. In 1885 Mrs. Quincy Shaw opened the North Bennett Street Industrial School classes during the mornings of six weeks in July and August. Five hundred children between the ages of three and eighteen were enrolled, while the daily attendance averaged 250. The attendance has varied from year to year, and new classes have been added to those first opened. The expense has run from \$700 to \$1,500, approximately. It, however, appeared to me, from a visit in 1896, that this was a place in which a variety of classes was offered to attract the children, and entire latitude of choice allowed them, rather than that it was an organized school in the general acceptance of the term, with only such work as seemed fitted to produce the best results in the children. The following extract from the report of 1896-7 perhaps expresses the motive and success of these classes:

"Ten large, airy rooms are filled daily by children from the streets. The occupations provided for them are all manual, and every effort is made to arouse and maintain a lively interest and regularity of attendance by means of thoroughly good teaching, by abundant variety of work, and by the attractive and (wherever possible) useful character of the occupations. Among these are sloyd, leather work, typesetting, chair-seating, basket weaving, cooking, plain sewing, fancy work, paper folding, drawing, clay modeling, color work, and kindergartens of two grades. One of the results of last summer's work which gave most evident delight to the children was the reseating of sixty-six shabby chairs, most of which were brought from the houses of the little boys, who carried them back, almost as good as new, with boisterous satisfaction, thanks to their own skill."

The Tyler Street Vacation School, carried on by Denison House and Ward XII Conference of Associated Charities (see reports of College Association 1894 to 1897), was opened July 8, 1895, and continued during the mornings of six weeks, the school committee granting the use of the building. A superintendent, nine teachers, and several volunteers cared for the 137 children who attended daily—about 50 per cent. of those enrolled, the cost being about \$650. In 1897 the best work seems to have been done; 222 registered on the opening day. I quote from the report: "The daily attendance, owing to more cautious methods of admission, persistent calling at the homes, and prompt dismissal of pupils absent without excuse on two successive days, was this year nearly two-thirds of the members registered, as contrasted with last year's proportion of one-half."

The children were classified in three distinct departments: the kindergarten, primary, and advanced class. In the primary department "the work, largely manual, was grouped about one strong central idea. 'Our country' was the principle chosen, and the children worked out their own ideas in painting, wood work, sewing, and singing. The result was shown on closing day in painted flags and strips, and pictured stories of Columbus, Miles Standish, and Hiawatha. The industrial work of the advanced class consisted in sewing and carpentry for girls and boys respectively. A new feature of the sewing room was 'mending day,' Friday, when busy groups were seen darning, patching, or replacing buttons on clothing brought from the family mending basket. On other days the girls did 'practice work' on sample strips until promoted to work on useful articles. A few advanced pupils learned something of cutting, fitting, and embroidery. The carpentry class comprised two divisions, with work similar in character, but adapted to individual ability."

But the striking success of the year was the science course by Miss Roberta Reynolds, of Radcliffe. Three mornings a week lessons were given on animal life, beginning with the monkey (illustrated by a living specimen), and continuing through the higher forms to the lower, in the following order:

Elephant, camel, cat (with comparison with larger members of the same order), rabbit (with a general talk about squirrels), rats, and mice. Other forms specified were as follows :

Birds : Specimen, thirty skins of New England birds (which the children learned to recognize). Superficial classification based upon bills and toes.

Reptiles : Specimen, a horned toad.

Amphibians : Specimen, tadpoles, frog, toad.

Fishes : Specimen, gold fishes.

Crustaceans : Specimen, live crabs, and many dried and alcoholic specimens, given by a friend.

Mollusks : Specimen, clams furnished by pupils.

Insects : Specimen, mounted specimens lent by a friend.

Echinoderms : Specimen, star fishes, sea urchins, sand dollars.

A large cage proved useful for the various animals lent by the Court Street Bird Store. Two hours a week were devoted to the study of *plant life*. There were afternoon excursions to seashore and parks, where specimens for class work were collected, and also to museums and library.

The mothers' teas, three in number, were informal afternoon meetings at the school of superintendent, teachers, and specified divisions of children, with their mothers. The practical use of such meetings in establishing confidence, interest, and coöperation is self-evident. At the close of the term all the parents were invited, and typical work of every department was on exhibition. Tea and music entertained the guests. The work shown, and the behavior of the children on that occasion, proved the value of the school to be fully what it had cost. The total expenditure was about \$650.

New York city.—The most important and best organized effort to maintain vacation schools, and the most far-reaching in its effect, was that of the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, in 1894. Impressed with the immediate need that something radical be done to combat the evils of the coming summer, they accepted a plan presented by Mr. William W. Locke, and asked for and were granted the use of four public-

school buildings in the poorest neighborhoods. Their appeal for funds brought \$5,000 to their treasury to maintain vacation schools. Many more children applied than could be admitted, and some came long distances to the school. The age limit was from five to fifteen, corresponding to the grades from kindergarten to first grammar. No text-books were used. From the beginning the A. I. C. P. had felt it was the duty of the board of education to maintain these schools, and it conducted them under its auspices only as an object-lesson to prove their need and usefulness. In 1897 the school board, after careful consideration, adopted vacation schools as a part of the public-school system of New York city, and appropriated \$10,000 for their maintenance this summer, estimating \$1,000 as the cost of each school.

This year ten schools have been opened by the board of education and are under the supervision of Superintendent Stewart. In each school there are a few expert teachers, but the majority are normal-school students, quite inexperienced, and the work naturally shows the result of their well-meant, but not always successful, efforts. The superintendent expressed himself as satisfied that it would be unwise another year to have so many inexperienced teachers.

In one school which I visited the principal was laying most stress on organized play, and was training the boys in companies for a tournament in hand-tennis, endeavoring to rouse their ambition to attain the highest degree of skill. The girls were having games and dances, and were utilizing the small space allotted to them in a really remarkable way. It struck me as an excellent training to teach them how to use the small spaces in their home and the street. At the same time they were learning beautiful poems, and training their voices to pleasant, modulated tones. Singing was incidental and scarcely emphasized sufficiently to be called a study.

In another school a skillful teacher, who had filled the room with interesting objects from nature, was conducting a nature-study lesson, in which the children were thoroughly interested. They had planted peanuts, and were watching the growth and

development, while all their other work—clay modeling, drawing, painting, and study—centered around the familiar carrot which they had never suspected of such interesting possibilities. Material for nature study is sent in from the country by one engaged especially for the purpose, but this seems scarcely adequate to the need.

Cleveland.—As an outgrowth of a summer sewing class there was established in Cleveland, in 1897, under the auspices of "The Old Stone Church" and in one of the public schools (the Rockwell), a small vacation school, which was fortunate in having the advice and superintendence of Miss Emma Davis, one of the school supervisors. It consisted of only two classes—kindergarten, and one for children from seven to ten years old—with about fifty in each class. This year Goodrich House will coöperate with the school, and thus make it possible to have some older children. There has been a greater demand for admission than it was possible to satisfy.

It is, perhaps, a sad commentary on our popular education that one sees in a report such a sentence as: "Our school is planned rather for character than knowledge—our aim being to give the children active employment in which they could be happy, with as little of the ordinary school routine as possible."

In the nature work special attention was given to a pair of canaries, and the sparrow and robin, birds constantly about, while an aquarium stocked with fish, and bugs and beetles brought into the room, furnished further material for study. In history interest was centered in Ohio and special emphasis laid on the lives of the great men she has given to the nation. Manual training consisted in form study, color lessons, clay modeling, cardboard, paper folding and cutting, outline sewing, drawing and designing, and sewing for both boys and girls—the Pratt system being followed in the last.

Brooklyn.—The Brooklyn Vacation School owes its existence directly to the inspiration of Mr. John Graham Brookes. It was opened in July, 1897, and continued like the others for a period of six weeks. The board of education allowed the use of its buildings, and loaned the manual-training and kindergarten

equipment necessary. The motive of the school seems to be industrial rather than purely educative, as will be seen from the course of study, which includes carpentry, chair caning, basket weaving, cobbling, sewing, drawing, modeling, water colors, and kindergarten. So far as I can gather from the reports, the children were allowed to choose that which they desired to do, and to spend the greater part of the time in that work, and little attempt was made to interest them in things of which they knew nothing, and which make for a broader view of life. Nature study seems not to have been included, and the "useful" seems to have been the ideal throughout. Toys and games exercising muscles of the body were a part of the course. The police in the neighborhood testify that the school has done much good.

Cambridge, Mass.—Although the first to see and express the need, it was not until 1897 that Cambridge really had a vacation school, and this it owed to a committee of women. For several years three summer kindergartens had been maintained by Grace Episcopal Church and the Cantabrigia Club. Out of these, perhaps, grew the vacation school held in the manual-training school in 1896, having sixty boys, and growing in 1897 to include 120 boys and sixty girls, the latter in a separate building—the Holmes School—where the board of education furnished the sloyd equipment, but popular subscription supplied the funds for maintenance. Mr. A. L. Ware was in charge of both schools, while Mr. A. L. Morse, head of the manual-training school, gave most valuable aid and advice. The attendance for boys averaged 96.3 per cent., for girls 90.7 per cent. The cost of maintenance was about \$1,300.

The pupils were chosen by the committee obtaining lists of names from the Associated Charities and the superintendent of schools, visiting the parents when the object of the school was explained, and inviting mother or father to enroll the child.

An admission card must be presented each day. In 1897, of the 120 boys sixty-one had attended in 1896, and the same proportion of the girls. There is a waiting list, and it seems to be the policy of the committee to impress upon all that it is a privilege to be allowed to come to the classes. The school is con-

tinued with the same numbers this year. Instruction is given in carpentry, sloyd, drawing, natural science, and singing, the girls having two lessons a week in cooking and practical home talks. Differing from other vacation schools, this has two sessions a day, of three hours each, one set of children attending in the morning, and another in the afternoon. The children are allowed to choose when they will come. Thirty children at a time are assigned to each of three teachers in wood work, while the other thirty pursue some study together. Each session is divided into two periods of one and one-half hours each.

There is no classification as to ability, the effort being made to give individual instruction as far as possible.

Philadelphia.—This summer of 1898, as the result of a petition from the Civic Club, the Philadelphia board of education determined to open three vacation schools as an experiment, with a principal and three assistants in each. They doubted whether the schools would be filled, but so great was the pressure that in one school twelve teachers were necessary to care for the pupils demanding admittance and filling the school to its utmost capacity. The policy of the committee was an exceptionally enlightened and generous one. The teachers were the best obtainable. Aquaria, palms, and other plants were supplied, and modeling tables which the teachers transformed into miniature landscapes, giving the rooms a delightful appearance. Nature study and manual training were laid down as essential studies, and each principal was allowed to adapt the course to the children under her charge. Each school was working out its own plan, and all seemed good. The one visited, the Beck School, seemed to me almost ideal in its spirit and work. The boys were learning Swedish sloyd, taught by an expert, and gymnastics were an important part of the work. Another class was engaged in simple wood carving, and interested to a degree. Sewing, clay modeling, and drawing; nature study, literature, and civics, with physical culture, completed the course. A happier company of children I have never seen. This district was almost entirely Russian and Jewish, while the other schools drew from an American population. One school in a manufacturing district had had

a loom given to it, and weaving was being taught by the janitor, a practical weaver, while cooking was added to the course of study. The principal of this school was the principal of the winter school, and had asked for the position, as she was so keenly anxious for the benefit of a vacation school for her children, to prevent the general demoralization which caused her so much trouble each fall.

In the third school the department idea was followed, each teacher having charge of one subject instead of one class. The report of the schools in Philadelphia will undoubtedly contribute much to the future development of the best work in vacation schools. The liberal and enlightened policy of the school board in adopting them as a part of the regular system, without first compelling their maintenance by private citizens and awaiting strong popular pressure, cannot be too highly commended, nor can the helpful and broad-minded attitude of the chairman of the committee, Mr. Kavanaugh.

Baltimore.—Mr. William W. Locke, who had charge of the New York schools, has this year gone to Baltimore to organize vacation schools there, but any further information has not been obtainable.

Chicago.—In March of 1896, at a conference of the Associated Charities, after a report on vacation schools, a committee was appointed to see what might be done to establish them in Chicago. This committee raised the first \$200 toward the maintenance of a school and ascertained that the board of education would favor the project. Through the chairman the matter was presented before the educational committee of the Civic Federation, of which President Harper of the University of Chicago was then chairman, and this committee was asked to undertake to conduct vacation schools, which it consented to do. Eight hundred dollars was raised, and it was determined to open one school which should be a model so far as possible. The Joseph Medill School was chosen, situated in a working-men's district, and drawing from a mixed population.

The course of study was arranged with the advice of President Harper, Professor John Dewey, of the University of Chicago; Col-

onel Francis Parker, of the Chicago Normal School, and Professor Gabriel Bamberger, of the Jewish Training School. No textbooks were used. Manual training, including sloyd, paper folding, drawing, clay modeling, and sewing for the girls, was given to all classes from the kindergarten up; singing and gymnasium work were important features, but, above all, a weekly excursion to the country was the center around which all study in the school revolved. The excursions were made possible through the generosity of the *Chicago Record*.

Cards were distributed through the neighborhood of the school, and before long the throng asking admission was so great it was necessary to ask police aid to keep order. Three hundred and sixty children were finally admitted; during the term over 4,000 applied. The teachers engaged were the best obtainable, it being felt that in a school of this kind, where everything depended upon the personality of the teacher, excellent results could be obtained only by experienced teachers. The excursions were not conducted as picnics, but each class in care of its teacher used eye and ear and hand to gather all the information possible, to see the life under stone or in flower, to know the country as a place of beauty and productiveness both. Throughout the term the course of work was guided by the advice of Professor Bamberger, who was chairman of the educational committee. The school commissioner of the district, who was at first doubtful as to the success of the venture, testified that nothing that had occurred in the district had been of so much benefit as had the vacation school. The most pathetic as well as lamentable ignorance of the country and country life was discovered, proving that from books alone, without actual sight of the objects studied, comparatively little is learned by the children, as is illustrated by the child who pictured a cow as big as a dog, who was shocked that milk should come from the cow; by the one to whom a puddle was a lake, and by the numbers who had never seen a group of trees, nor a field of clover or wild flowers, when these *seemed* so easy of reach.

In 1897 circumstances rendered it impossible for the Civic Federation to conduct a school. The settlement of the Univer-

sity of Chicago was, however, fortunate enough to have money given to it for this especial purpose, and a school was conducted in the Seward School in the Stockyards district, under the management of Miss Mary McDowell, head worker of the settlement. The principal chosen had been secretary of the educational committee of the Civic Federation the previous year, and was familiar with the Medill School; the course of study pursued was much the same, with the addition of housework, and of a Clean City League, meeting after school hours. Nature was not the central thought, as only occasional excursions were taken by the classes. One of the direct and excellent results of the school was the introduction of manual training into the regular school curriculum in response to a petition from the parents in the districts, to whom its value had been demonstrated during the summer session.

Those interested in vacation schools during previous years felt that to bring them to the notice of the general public an organized effort must be made to establish them. Therefore, in December, 1897, a vacation-school committee was appointed in the Chicago Woman's Club, which asked and obtained the aid of forty-three city and suburban women's clubs. These formed a joint committee which raised \$9,600. Five schools were opened on July 5 with 2,000 pupils. At the same time a permanent committee was appointed, "whose special business it shall be to carry the work to a successful issue, *i. e.*, until vacation schools have been incorporated as an organic part of the public-school system." The press generously kept the project before the public. The joint committee worked hard and faithfully, dispelling the ignorance as to what these schools really are. Appeals for money were at first met with the reply, "We have too much school already;" but the argument, "There will be no books, only manual training and visits to the country," almost invariably quieted all objections, and the necessary funds were cheerfully given. The statement of the danger of learning vice and evil in the street was the most potent argument in favor of the work.

The members of the joint committee, all women, felt they

were able to raise the necessary funds, but, realizing how many excellent projects are wrecked by "prentice hands," and understanding fully the responsibility resting on them in this important matter, determined to get the best advice possible in the conduct of the schools. They, therefore, extended an invitation to the following educators to take full charge of the educational side of the schools. Not one refused, and the generosity, sympathy, and enthusiasm with which these men and women gave an afternoon fortnightly of their valuable and busy time to consider the best course to pursue cannot be sufficiently appreciated, and to say that their advice was invaluable to the whole movement is to express little of the debt we owe them. They are: Professor G. Bamberger, superintendent Jewish Training School; Professor Charles Thurber, dean Morgan Park Academy; Dr. J. M. Coulter, University of Chicago; Colonel F. W. Parker, superintendent Chicago Normal School; Professor W. S. Jackman, Chicago Normal School; Miss Jane Addams, Hull House; Professor Charles Zueblin, University of Chicago; Dr. H. H. Belfield, superintendent Chicago Manual Training School; Miss Maud Summers, principal Kinzie School; Mrs. H. F. Hegner, Kindergarten Training School, Chicago Commons; Mr. John P. Gavit, Chicago Commons; Miss Anna Bryan, Kindergarten Training School, Armour Institute; Professor G. N. Carman, superintendent Lewis Institute. To these was added the chairman of the committee of women's clubs, Miss Sadie American. They at once organized themselves into a "board of education," with the following committees:

- Teachers and janitors.
- Curriculum and excursions.
- Rules and regulations.
- Buildings and grounds.
- Supplies.
- Finance.

The child himself, and how to expand and develop the good and beauty in him, was the central thought influencing the "board" in arranging the curriculum. As the pivot of the work, weekly excursions into the parks and surrounding country, under

such guidance as should make him open his eyes in wonder indeed at the marvelous things he constantly passed by; nature study, music, and manual training in that sense of the term which makes it systematic, educative discipline, were felt to be the best means to accomplish this object.¹ Special provision was also made for teaching in each of four schools a small class of deaf children, who are usually completely overlooked.

At once a superintendent was engaged, that he might advise with the board, which was fortunate in securing the services of a school principal whose whole-hearted and enthusiastic devotion to his profession, and whose sympathy for the children, insured success in his part of the work—Mr. O. J. Milliken, principal of the Fallon School. At the same time the following assistants were engaged: Mr. W. P. Beeching, supervisor of nature study; Mrs. Frances E. Raymond, director of excursions; Miss Mari R. Hofer, supervisor of music, and Miss Louise Heller, for sewing.

For each school were engaged a kindergartner and assistant, teacher in music and accompanist, sewing teacher with assistant, two teachers each in manual training, drawing, and nature study, and one in gymnastics. Of the seventy teachers, twenty-nine were from the Chicago public schools, five from outside public schools, eleven from private schools, eight from the Jewish Training School, two from the Chicago Manual Training School, four from social settlements, and eleven had held no positions, but came highly recommended. Fifteen teachers were men. The proof of the practicability and value of excursions as an organic part of school work is the notable contribution of these schools to "the cause of education."

The students of the normal school offered their services as assistants, and ten were assigned to each school each week for one week's service. They were most helpful in schoolroom and excursion, and at the same time gained valuable experience for themselves.

The pedagogical and sociological clubs of the University of Chicago and the students of pedagogy and sociology, many of

¹For details see superintendent's report, foregoing.

whom are themselves teachers, from all parts of the country, have been most interested observers of the work, and have expressed themselves as convinced of the importance and value of this movement to convert the vacation from a time of demoralization to one of recreation in the best sense of the word.

SADIE AMERICAN.

CHICAGO.

NOTE.—An additional detailed report of the Chicago schools will be published. It may be had on application, accompanied by five cents for postage, to Vacation School Committee, Chicago Woman's Club, Fine Arts Building.

Justice to Boston demands correction of an error in the September number of this JOURNAL, p. 159, third line from the bottom: For "two" read "ten."

CONCERNING A FORM OF DEGENERACY.

I.

THE CONDITION AND INCREASE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

THE fact that degeneracy is the source of some of the most serious of the evils which afflict society, and that many of these evils are clearly preventible, has not, hitherto, received much public attention. It is true that a few among the more advanced students of penology have suggested that many of the habitual criminals, who display evil mental or physical traits which apparently cannot be corrected, are degenerates; that, hence, they are unfit for free, social life, and should be debarred from pleasures and opportunities which they cannot or will not enjoy without injury to themselves and others; and that they should, by all means, be prevented leaving offspring who would probably inherit the evil tendencies of their parents. But the general public, even many educated and thoughtful citizens, do not know these facts, and look upon those who would apply the results of scientific reasoning to the control of the lives of even the lowest members of society as enthusiasts or worse. Yet a comparatively brief consideration of those whose needs or misdeeds furnish philanthropists and penologists with their reason for existence, and give the tax assessor his chief claim upon our property, will convince a candid student that many of them may be clearly differentiated as degenerates; that some of them are so far below the normal that their unhindered increase is a serious menace to the well-being of the race; that their number tends to increase more rapidly than that of normal citizens, since they are infinitely less prudent; that they cause an increasing drain upon the resources of the tax-payer; and, most serious of all, that, unless the tendencies they disclose shall be checked or offset, the average standard of manhood and womanhood, both physical and mental, must inevitably be lowered.

Unfortunately we have no trustworthy national statistics

regarding the increase or decrease of dependency, defectiveness, or other marked form of degeneracy. The increase, serious though it be, is not quite so alarming as would appear from the often quoted figures of the United States census, with the conclusion drawn from their casual inspection by some students of sociology.¹ Until the census shall have been taken a number of times upon a uniform system and by trustworthy officers, who shall have been selected for competence alone, we shall be unable to prove by official figures some conclusions which otherwise seem certain.

The object of the present and a succeeding paper is to set forth some facts regarding one of the most dangerous of the degenerate classes, to tell what measures have been taken in various states to remedy or avert the evils they threaten, and to suggest a possible and hopeful method with regard to them; a method which, if it shall be successful, may possibly indicate for us a course to pursue with regard to other classes of degenerates.

There are few persons who do not exhibit some of the so-called stigmata of degeneracy. A desire to forestall criticism makes it needful to say here that only those who are so degenerate as to be a source of marked danger to the community are the subjects of this essay.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

The phrase "feeble-minded," for some years past, and especially in the United States, has been adopted as a useful generic term. Excluding insanity, it includes all other grades of mental defectiveness, from that of the hopeless and abject idiot, incapable of any purposive action, up to the high-grade imbecile, who would be classed as normal but that he occasionally betrays his feebleness by conspicuously foolish errors of judgment, or lack of common sense, or weakness of will, or failure to comprehend common proprieties; and the so-called moral imbecile who only shows mental abnormality by a total lack of moral perception.

¹ Census of 1850 showed 15,787 idiots, or 681 in each million of total population; census of 1890, 95,609 idiots, or 1,527 in each million—a total increase of 505 per cent., or, per million, 124 per cent., in forty years.

Besides its usefulness as a generic term, the phrase "feeble-minded" is more acceptable to the relatives and friends of those so called than the terms idiot and imbecile. It meets the incessant public demand for euphemisms which shall seem to soften the harsh facts of existence. The term has been accepted by the legislatures of many states, and their institutions for the care of idiots and imbeciles are frequently designated "schools for feeble-minded youth."¹

An elaborate definition of the difference between idiocy and insanity would occupy too much space for this essay. Briefly, idiocy is a condition of arrested psychological development. It may occur at any mental stage of infancy, childhood, or youth. It is often caused, or accompanied, by coarse brain-disease, but more frequently presents no discoverable, pathological evidence of its existence. It is, however, impossible to doubt that it is always the product of abnormal conditions of the brain or other nerve tissue, although we may not be able to recognize them under the microscope.

To the average citizen the word idiocy denotes a condition by itself, unconnected with other abnormalities. Only within recent years have students begun to notice that the idiot is one of the many varieties of neuropathics. Recent studies have disclosed how intimate are the relations between these varieties and how extensive is the connection.

Differing in externals and agreeing chiefly in that all are alike degenerates, we find in the neuropathic family² the insane, the epileptic, the hysterical, the paralytic, the imbecile and idiotic of various grades, the moral imbecile, the sexual pervert, the kleptomaniac; many, if not most, of the chronic inebriates; many of the prostitutes, tramps, and minor criminals; many habitual paupers, especially the ignorant and irresponsible

¹ It is worth noting, as soon as these "schools" are mentioned, that, although most of them began as schools proper, and discharged their pupils when of age, they are now becoming permanent asylums for the great majority of their inmates, and only hope to discharge to a life of free, self-directing activity a small minority of those they teach. Those most recently created — as, for instance, that of Wisconsin — have begun as asylums for permanent care, as well as training schools for the improvable, from the outset.

² See *La famille neuropathique*, by DR. CHARLES FÉRÉ.

mothers of illegitimate children, so common in our poorhouses; many of the shiftless poor, ever on the verge of pauperism and often stepping over into it; some of the blind, some deaf-mutes, some consumptives. All these classes in varying degree, with others not mentioned, are related as being effects of the one cause—which itself is the summing up of many causes—degeneracy.

Carefully excepting those imbeciles and idiots whose defect has some traumatic origin, is the result of disease, or has some other accidental cause—and these are by no means few—we find that the idiots of various types with whom we have to deal in this paper not only sustain a general relation to the other classes enumerated above as degenerates, but very close relations of blood are often found between them and individuals of other types of degeneracy. They themselves often belong to two classes, as idiotic and paralytic, idiotic and mute, or epileptic, or hysterical. Especially close and frequent are the relations between idiocy, epilepsy, insanity, and paralysis, and between all these and tuberculosis. The classification of a mentally defective person as a terminal dement, or a low-grade idiot, is often impossible without knowing the history of the case. Hysteria and paranoia present some identical symptoms. Epilepsy may coexist with idiocy or result in insanity. The dividing line between imbecility and criminality is often indistinguishable. Several of these types frequently coexist in the same family, the hereditary taint taking one form or the other, as circumstances may determine.

Here are a number of instances taken from the records of one state school for the feeble-minded illustrating the class of relationships referred to above:

A. and O. C——. Brothers, middle-grade imbeciles. Father a feeble-minded drunkard. Mother said to be feeble-minded. The boys came from the poorhouse.

E. B——. Low-grade idiot girl. A mingled family history, on both parental sides, of insanity, epilepsy, consumption, neuralgia, scrofula, and deaf-mutism.

L. T——. A cretinoid, dwarf, mute idiot. One sister also cretinoid and mute, and one brother mute, but intelligent, who afterward died of consump-

tion, were inmates of the state school for the deaf. Her oldest brother, a laborer of the lowest class, has served a term in state's prison for incest. Her father was a habitual drinker, although not a drunkard. Her mother is an overworked, underfed woman of the lowest type of German immigrants, who, as well as an older sister, has somewhat cretinoid features.

L. and L. N——. Twin girls, low-grade imbeciles. One sister is an inmate of a hospital for insane. Their father was feeble-minded. They have two brothers, also twins, both of whom are left-handed.¹

E. I——. A high-grade imbecile girl, is dying of consumption. Her father, mother, and four sisters have died of the same disease. One other sister is also consumptive.

J., J., and E. X——. Three brothers and a sister, high- and middle-grade imbeciles. Their mother, who is feeble-minded, lives in a poorhouse with three younger children, the fruit of a second marriage.

M., R., and A. D——. Two brothers and a sister, high-grade imbeciles, have two first cousins, also high-grade imbeciles, in the same institution. This family has a mingled history of pauperism, imbecility, inebriety, and crime on both parental sides for several generations back.

J. B——. Middle-grade imbecile boy; has a brother of low order of intellect, who is a habitual criminal. His mother and grandmother were feeble-minded. His mother had five illegitimate children, all born in the county poorhouse, concerning whose paternity nothing is known.

K., S., and B. S——. Two sisters and a brother, middle- and high-grade imbeciles, are the illegitimate offspring of an imbecile woman who has spent most of her life in the county poorhouse. She has twice been married, each time to a feeble-minded man, by whom she has had other children. Her father and grandmother are known to have been inmates of the same poorhouse, the defective records of which omit other members of the family who are supposed to have been inmates also. Most of the family are feeble-minded; all are either indoor or outdoor paupers.

R. C——. A high-grade idiot boy; has one feeble-minded sister. One uncle on maternal and one on paternal side were feeble-minded. His father is a paralytic. His mother had a numerous family, most of whom died in infancy. He is a psychopathic sexual pervert.

J., J., and E. C——. Three brothers, middle- and high-grade imbeciles. Father was a weak-minded drunkard. One uncle was a low-grade idiot.

G. C——. A high-grade imbecile girl; was the fruit of incestuous intercourse between her mother and her mother's grandfather.

M. B——. A high-grade imbecile; epileptic and paralytic. Her mother died of consumption one week after the birth of M.

B. I——. A high-grade imbecile; epileptic and paralytic. Father very nervous. Several deaf-mute relatives. Two epileptic aunts.

¹ The proportion of left-handedness observed in pupils of institutions for feeble-minded is many times greater than in normal children.

L. B——. A high-grade imbecile consumptive. Her mother was a prostitute. Her grandmother died of consumption. L. has a mulatto half-brother, she being white.

J. and M. D——. Brother and sister, middle-grade imbeciles; are hairless. One imbecile brother, also hairless, lives in a county poorhouse. Another brother and sister are also feeble-minded.

J. and L. I——. Brother and sister. Girl a high-grade imbecile of good disposition. Boy a typical moral imbecile, his special form of depravity being to wound the feelings of those who have been most kind to him, especially the lady teachers, for whom he plans ingenious and elaborately worked out schemes of outrage. Their mother was feeble-minded.

K. D——. High-grade imbecile; a family history of consumption, inebriety, and feeble-mindedness.

R. D——. High-grade imbecile. Her grandmother died of epilepsy. She has three aunts who are congenital deaf-mutes.

J. and J. F——. Brothers; middle-grade imbeciles. Father and mother both died of consumption.

R. G——. High-grade idiot, mute, but hearing. His grandfather is insane. Three uncles are mute and insane.

E. T——. A low-grade epileptic, imbecile girl; has the following among her relatives in the past two generations: Her grandfather, J. T., who was a patient in an insane hospital for twenty years, had six sons, uncles of E. Two were patients in the same hospital, one of whom committed suicide; two other sons, not classed as insane, committed suicide, and one other committed murder. E. had a grand-uncle, also insane, who had a son who committed a very atrocious murder.

F. and M. B——. Brother and sister; boy an epileptic, low-grade imbecile; girl a middle-grade imbecile. Their mother is insane; father and paternal grandfather were drunkards.

M. L——. A low-grade imbecile. Father a drunkard; mother intemperate and consumptive; one sister a deaf-mute.

S., L., and B. N——. Two sisters and a brother; middle- and high-grade imbeciles. Their mother is insane; father somewhat weak-minded. There are eight children in the family, not one of whom is quite sound in both mind and body.

M. N——. Low-grade imbecile. Father and mother both demented. One brother is feeble-minded. A pauper family.

E. and J. P——. High-grade imbecile brother and sister. Both parents were feeble-minded. Paternal grandfather feeble-minded and paralytic.

J. Q——. High-grade imbecile girl. Her mother was feeble-minded and cancerous. Her maternal grandmother feeble-minded, epileptic, and paralytic.

M. R——. Low-grade imbecile. On mother's side three uncles and two aunts died of consumption. On father's side a great-aunt was insane, an aunt eccentric, an uncle deaf-mute.

M. and E. X—. Brother and sister. Boy high-grade idiot; paralytic. Girl a moral imbecile. Father a congenital deaf-mute and a drunkard. Mother was a prostitute and female tramp.

Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely. They are the commonplaces of the institutions for the feeble-minded.

The cases above adduced illustrate the hereditariness of imbecility. Few who have had experience in dealing with this class of neuropathics doubt that their defects are chiefly due to that cause. The degree to which this is true has been noticed but recently,¹ and the induction is still too narrow for accurate conclusions. Enough cases, however, have been observed to show that the defects classed under this head are probably more certainly hereditary than any other traits, either mental or physical. It also seems true that those children of a feeble-minded parent who escape idiocy or imbecility will probably exhibit some other type of defectiveness, either bodily or mental, or both.²

The degree of heredity is, in some cases, clouded by the effects of infantile environment or pseudo-heredity, which are often similar to those of heredity proper. For sociological, if not for physiological, purposes, it may be permitted to class as hereditary influences those exerted on the child during infancy. The contact between mother and child during nursing is only less close than it was during pregnancy, and pre-natal influences, producing traits of character resembling acquired traits of the parent, are frequently, although perhaps inaccurately, classed as hereditary influences. Data on this subject are rare. Those we have point to the conclusion that infantile environment has little to do with feeble-mindedness, which is either sporadic, caused by accident, or truly hereditary.

¹See "Feeble-mindedness as an Inheritance," by ERNEST BICKNELL, secretary of Indiana state board of charities, in *Proceedings of Twenty-third National Conference of Charities and Correction*, Grand Rapids, 1896.

²"Of all classes of degenerates none transmit their infirmities in greater degree than the imbeciles. When the ancestral stock is properly classed under this head, they must transmit in every case some form of degeneracy to offspring, the majority of whom are noticeably mentally feeble, while many are criminals, inebriates, or prostitutes." (From "Care of the Feeble-minded," by DR. F. M. POWELL, in *Proceedings of Twenty-fourth National Conference of Charities and Correction*, Toronto, 1897.)

Recent tabulations of pauper records show, what might have been expected *a priori*, that the relations between that form of dependence and mental defectiveness are very close.¹ The result of hundreds of experiments with children of paupers is conclusive that the alleged hereditariness of pauperism is rather the result of infantile environment than a true taint of blood. From which we may safely conclude that, in the relation between pauperism and feeble-mindedness, the latter is the cause of the former, rather than *vice versa*.

The feeble-minded and idiotic of the United States now number about one hundred thousand,² less than ten thousand of whom are under adequate care and guardianship, in the schools and asylums provided by the states, or in private institutions of the same kind.³ Most of the other 90,000 are suffering various degrees of neglect. Some are in town or county poor-houses, or other unfit institutions, where a small per cent. are usefully employed; the others, at the best, are harmless; most of them are mischievous. Some are in private homes, a burden almost heart-breaking where they are kindly cared for, suffering unspeakable cruelty and degradation where they are abused or neglected. Some are wandering about, debased and debasing. Few are in anything but unfit surroundings. Many are reproducing their kind, with little or no hindrance. Few poorhouses of the land are without one or more families of imbeciles among their inmates. Still more numerous are the cases of idiotic

¹ See "Feeble-mindedness as an Inheritance," by E. BICKNELL, quoted above.

² The following figures from the United States census may be useful for reference :

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
Feeble-minded and idiotic	15,787	18,930	24,527	76,895	95,609
Insane	15,610	24,042	37,432	91,997	106,254
Deaf-mutes	9,803	12,821	16,205	33,878	41,283
Blind	9,794	12,658	20,320	49,928	50,411

³ There are about thirty-four such institutions now in this country, twenty-four supported by nineteen states, the remainder controlled by private enterprise and supported by tuition payments. For recent statistics see "The Care of the Feeble-minded," by DR. F. M. POWELL, in *Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth National Conference of Charities and Correction*, Toronto, 1897.

women, the mothers of defective illegitimate children, often begotten as well as born in the poorhouse. Under present conditions few of these unhappy creatures will escape repeated motherhood until past the reproductive age. From these 90,000 neglected or abused feeble-minded persons have come, or will come, most of the next generation of idiots, imbeciles, and epileptics, and a vast number of the prostitutes, tramps, petty criminals, and paupers.

Of all the dangerous and defective classes this is the most defective, and the most dangerous to the commonwealth, the most to be pitied in themselves, and the most costly to the taxpayer.

After what has been said above there would seem to be no need of argument to convince anyone who accepts these premises that the care and control of the feeble-minded should be undertaken by the state; that the increase or the continuance of a class so defective, so injurious, and so certain to transmit its defects to posterity should be checked.

The history of what the states have done and are doing, and a suggestion of what should now be done, will be the subjects of a subsequent paper.

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SANITY IN SOCIAL AGITATION.¹

NEVER was the air so full as now of social agitations. On the whole, this is a healthy sign. I sympathize with the mighty social movement of which these agitations are incidents. I cannot sympathize with the methods which some of the most conscientious and high-minded agitators adopt. I am aware that my relation to the different parties concerned with these social questions is very much like that of the Girondists at the beginning of the French Revolution. They deplored the selfishness and obstructiveness of the privileged classes on the one hand, but they equally disapproved the extravagant theories of the popular leaders on the other hand. They were consequently despised by the court party on the one side, and by the revolutionists on the other. They were presently ground between the upper and nether millstone of this double hate.

Modern business is a sensitive plant. Some of the men who have the heaviest responsibilities for its cultivation would suppress every implication that there is anything to improve in business practices. They would have all criticisms of present social order sternly ignored, except within the inner councils of the managing few. On the other hand there is persistent popular clamor for wholesale and radical reform in the present ways of doing business. Between these two extremes it is not a pleasant nor a popular rôle to search for the golden mean. Nevertheless, the scholar's ambition is to find and tell the truth, not merely to repeat the things that people want to hear.

I have in mind the sort of agitation which holds before our imagination the prospect of accomplishing some wide-reaching changes in the world's ways of doing things, in the hope of

¹ The substance of this paper was read in April, 1898, at a conference called by the National Christian Citizenship League, to consider the general topic "Present-Day Social Problems *in the Light of the Teachings of Jesus.*" The heat with which the paper was denounced by leading members of the league afforded new evidence that the message was timely.

getting people to decide on some new programme which will mark a distinct era in progress.

Now, there is this to be said at the outset: The bulk of human progress thus far has been achieved, not by design, but by accident. I mean by this that individual men have not been wise enough to understand all the consequences of their acts, and that bigger and better things have resulted than the persons tributary to them could foresee or foreordain. Men have started to do one thing, like ending England's oppression of her American colonies. They have ended by accomplishing a very different thing, namely, the independence of the colonies.

From this many men argue that agitation and foresight and planning about social improvement are useless altogether. This is not true. Social conditions may be improved by bringing our thought and work to bear on them. I therefore speak of social agitation, not as something to be discouraged in itself, but as something from which we may expect beneficent results; as something, however, which may bring direful consequences, unless it is temperate. I shall try to point out some of the facts which wise agitation will respect.

Social progress involves four elements, viz., (1) discovery, (2) persuasion, (3) individual adjustment, (4) social adaptation. In order to make my discussion bear as distinctly as possible upon this general statement, I will confine myself for illustration throughout this paper to the labor question. What is true of the labor question, in the particulars to which I refer, is true of all desired social progress.

The terms of the labor problem, as I see it, are these: (1) It is said that labor is not free, but that capital tyrannizes over labor. It may be that this statement sums up the whole matter in the minds of those who think it is true. In that case the items that follow are merely details under that general formula, viz.: (2) the conditions of labor are said to be unfair in respect of (*a*) sanitation, (*b*) hours, (*c*) wages, (*d*) chance for advancement, (*e*) opportunity to get returns for inventive ideas, (*f*) security of employment; (3) there is a permanent percentage of unemployed labor; (4) politics adds to the hardships of

labor; (5) all these hardships together prevent the laborer from giving his children a start in the world that will enable them to escape their father's lot.

Let us suppose that nobody questions the truth of these statements in the abstract. The labor problem then is: How may we change this state of things? How may all the unemployed have a paying job? How may the mischiefs of political meddling be stopped? How may an equal start in life be assured to all the children in each generation? How may workers secure altogether satisfactory conditions under which to work? How may the advantage of the capitalist over the laborer be removed? This is the labor problem. I repeat, then, my first statement: Progress in solving such a problem involves four elements, at least: (1) discovery, (2) persuasion, (3) individual adjustment, (4) social adaptation. I will try to show clearly what this means.

First, as to the primary necessity of discovery. We have assumed that everybody pleads guilty to the charges, or, at least, "guilty with extenuating circumstances," or "guilty on some of the counts." If we try to find out what any particular man means when he admits, for example, that capital tyrannizes over labor, we shall discover that, although he may be sincere in saying it, yet, if he is a capitalist himself, he means it somewhat as many good people mean the confessions they make in prayer meeting that they are "miserable sinners." If anyone should take them at their word, and point out any particular instance in which they had sinned, confession would very likely turn into denial, and even to counter-charges against the accuser. Everybody that stops to think about it has some sort of an idea that things are not right in the labor world. They are not as they are going to stay. They are not settled. The question is: Just where is the spot at which things begin to get out of gear, and how shall we go to work to put them to rights?

This shows what I mean when I say that progress in solving the labor problem involves, first, discovery. It may be that every voter in Chicago has an opinion of his own on this matter; but, at all events, there may be as many different shades of

opinion as there are voting precincts in the city. Of course, all these opinions cannot be correct. How shall we find out who is right? Some discoveries must evidently be made. I have no doubt there are several thousand people in Chicago who would undertake to settle the labor problem in the United States tomorrow, if they could be made Czar of the United States for that purpose. One of them might then silence all the other opinions, and make everybody else act according to the Czar's opinion. Whether right or not, his plan would control the country, till it convinced everybody or until it collapsed from structural weakness. But, fortunately or unfortunately, no one of us can be a czar, and the next best thing is to get the necessary multitudes to think the same way about a great many complicated matters of fact and of judgment. All this calls for the same sort of discovery that is necessary in science or in the mechanic arts. For instance, it is a commonplace idea that we are not using our coal in the best way to produce power. A fortune is all ready for the man who shall discover a better way. Meanwhile, nobody thinks of damning "society" for not developing power direct from the coal. We want to do it, but how? Again, everybody knows that a considerable part of our fuel goes up the chimney. It is easy enough to say, "That fuel ought not to be wasted," but I have heard no social agitators declaim against "society" because the fuel still is wasted. We have yet to discover how to prevent the waste. Until we make the discovery, it is useless to call each other names for not saving the loss.

Once more, I have heard chemists express the opinion that the time will come when we shall be able to get food enough to feed the human race directly from the air, without resort to the soil. They say it is possible, only chemistry has not yet discovered ways of doing it profitably on a large scale. Meanwhile, there are people on the verge of starvation. Do I hear somebody say that we "ought" to get the use of the food carried in the air? I agree with him, but I hope I shall not hear him denounce anybody, and especially not the government, or the church, for not giving us the neglected means of subsistence.

It would really be rather hard if the politicians and the church members had to bear, not only their own share of human blame, but also responsibility for not making chemistry yield up the secrets of nature faster.

This may seem to be making light of the subject, but I am serious and earnest when I say that the need of discovery about social facts, before we can solve the labor problem, is precisely parallel with that in the cases I have cited. There ought not to be any unemployed or underpaid men in the world, just as there ought not to be any unappropriated food in the air, or fugitive fuel sneaking out of our chimneys, or power lost in generation. But who has discovered what is to be done in either case? Until the discovery is made, that "ought" has to be understood in a Pickwickian sense. It expresses our common ignorance and helplessness, not our refusal to do something which is perfectly plain.

Now, let us apply these illustrations a little more closely to the labor problem. Suppose we adopt the general statement that "*fair distribution*" would solve the labor problem. This sounds very clear and definite. In fact, however, to ninety-nine persons in a hundred it is merely a new way of stating the old puzzle, viz., What is "fair distribution"?

So far as I know, there is only one body of men in the world that can make a perfectly distinct statement of what, in their opinion, would be absolutely fair distribution. That is the group for which Edward Bellamy speaks.¹ His idea of fair distribution is "always and absolutely equal" distribution. The only thorough-going method proposed for making this distribution is the programme of those disciples of Marx who insist upon the time standard of wages, *i. e.*, whatever the occupation, an hour's wage for an hour's work. If we suppose that these two views always go together, which is not invariably the case, then we may say that the world is now divided into two parts: first, those who believe that every man in the world can earn in an hour the same amount that any other man can earn; second, those who believe that work varies in value. It is not my purpose to discuss these

¹ See *Fabian Essays*, American edition, introduction, p. xvi.

beliefs, but simply to state the facts. It may be that one man in a thousand in the United States believes that the day's work of any man, selected at random, is worth as much as the day's work of any other man in the nation. I should be very much surprised, however, at proof that one person in ten thousand believes it. Yet, for the sake of argument, I will assume the possibility that the time unit will prove to be the proper unit of labor value. I will assume that the man who ties corn fibers together to make brooms earns as much as the man who engraves designs on cylinders for printing cloth. I will assume that the man who weaves chair bottoms earns as much as a patternmaker in a machine shop. I will assume that the hod-carrier earns as much as the locomotive engineer, and that the press-feeder earns as much as the managing editor. It is within the bounds of credibility that a numerical majority of men may some day think these things are true. The hard fact remains at present, however, that the vast majority of men do not believe they are true. We do not believe that the time standard of wages is the fair standard, any more than we believe that the earth's surface is the inside of a ball, or that there is no such thing as sickness or pain. We do not belong to this majority because we are less honest, or less just, than men of Mr. Bellamy's sort, but we see things from another point of view.

In this situation, what is sanity? Why, it is perfectly sane for Mr. Bellamy and his fellow-believers to do their best to convince the rest of the world that they have made a discovery. Indeed, the only sanity, from their point of view, is to preach their doctrine, and to make converts to it as fast as possible. If they should ever bring a working majority over to their view, in any country, it would then be in order for them to propose changes accordingly. Meanwhile, it is thoroughly insane for men of that belief to agitate for revolutionizing the industrial system to match that belief; for the same reason that it would be insane for the Mormon hierarchy to demand that the United States should make itself over according to the Mormon model. But such insanity would be mild and hopeful compared with that of the men who have not even defined to themselves what fair distribution would

be, and yet turn themselves into detonators of all sorts of social explosives, in the interest of they know not what.

As I have said, there are simply two parties of us in the world on this question, viz., first, the small contingent who believe there should be one rate of wages for an hour's work, for all sorts, conditions, and occupations of men ; and, second, the great mass of us, who for our lives can arrive at no common belief about an artificial scheme of distribution that would be absolutely fair to all, or even in the end more fair than the system which is evolving along with all other human institutions. Whatever our shade of opinion about possible checks and balances, in some way or other the law of supply and demand seems to us a factor that neither can nor ought to be thrown out of the calculation. Our suspicion is that this factor alone is bound to upset every theoretical scheme of equal distribution that will ever be invented.

For the great majority of men, therefore, who are in this state of disagreement about the fundamental conception of fairness in distribution, sanity in social agitation would not indulge in wholesale dogmatism, much less in wholesale denunciation. It would rather choose retail experiment with practical checks and balances. It would attempt to discover by experience what serves to secure more stable equilibrium among workers, and it would make this discovery a basis for further experience and experiment. It is quite possible for men who are as wide apart as the poles in philosophical theory to agree that a given wage scale is inhuman, and that pressure of some sort should be exerted to raise it. Adam Smith and Karl Marx and Herbert Spencer would probably all agree that Mayor Harrison ought to be supported in representing the taxpayers against the franchise-grabbers. Orthodox political economists and radical socialists might easily stand shoulder to shoulder in an attack on sweat-shops, or in a fight against truck payments. We have discovered chances for some steps ahead in these directions, and we may rationally move on accordingly. But where we are not sure of the direction to take, discovery and not dogmatism is social sanity. For this reason I would say that the trade-union principle is thoroughly sound and sane. Such men as our friend, Mr. Neison, too, are

object-lessons in social sanity. I have not heard him telling how to organize Kingdom Come out of people of doubtful qualifications for free citizenship anywhere. He can tell us, however, how he made discoveries about his own business, that have helped his own policies, and have tended to raise the general level of business morality. I would name the firm of Procter & Gamble and the National Cash Register Co. as good examples of social sanity. Such concerns as these have tried thoroughly commendable experiments within the range of possibility in their own business. They have contributed more to a final solution of the labor problem than all the visionaries who offer sentiment as equivalent for discovery, and rhetoric as substitute for experience.

The obstinate fact is that nobody in the world is wise enough to convince a majority in any nation today that he has a workable solution of the labor problem. Sanity in social agitation will accordingly tone down its style of assertion in candid recognition of this fact. It is either insane or dishonest to talk as though wide-reaching social reforms, such as a permanent solution of the labor problem, have been thought through, and could be brought about forthwith, if we would only say so. No well-informed and well-balanced person will assert or imply that the way to accomplish such a reform has been discovered.

On the other hand, a hundred minor plans and policies have been discovered, which make for *partial* solution of the labor problem. A hundred means are known, applicable at different points of the industrial system, under different circumstances, in different conditions. For instance, no one can read the two latest books of Sidney and Beatrice Webb without the conviction that the possibilities of labor organization are hardly yet imagined. In America we are at least a generation behind England in the maturity of trade-unionism. Again, the insurance principle, as a factor of mighty possibilities in future developments of the problem, has hardly yet touched the imagination of reformers. I do not mean mere life insurance, or old-age, or accident, or loss-of-employment insurance alone. I mean the extension of the insurance principle as widely as the organization of labor can

extend. I mean the insurance of laborers by laborers, and of labor organizations by labor organizations, just as fire- and life-insurance companies underwrite each other, and just as corporations in a trust secure each other.

A few days ago an invitation to buy a life-insurance policy came to me on a letter-head bearing the legend "Scientific Socialism." The solicitor represented one of the best-known old-line companies. I am surprised, not that a wide-awake insurance agent at last has the wit to call the business "scientific socialism," but that all the companies have not long ago exploited this idea for what it is worth. The explanation probably is that the old-line insurance companies have been doing business chiefly with the conservative element of our population, at any rate with those who could command a surplus, and among these people panic is likely at the bare mention of socialism. The fact is, however, that insurance is thoroughly scientific socialism, and, conversely, all the feasible socialism that I know anything about is at bottom scientific insurance.

Still further, coöperation, profit-sharing, and other forms of industrial partnership may not have satisfied their most sanguine friends, but they have not yet been worked to the limit. The claims of the laborer to a share of proprietorship in the business are by no means settled. We have not heard the last of income tax, and inheritance tax, and we might indefinitely extend the list with specifications which have been found available in the interest of fairer distribution.

In view of these facts, my second main proposition is this, viz., so much discovery having been made, reform is nevertheless not at once and directly feasible. There must in most cases be a long, hard, intermediate process of *persuasion*. In any case where a way of carrying on business more justly has been discovered the lesson has to be taught to other people in like lines of business. The news has to be carried. People have to be told that something has been tried in a business like theirs, and that it has worked. Then they have to be persuaded to try it themselves.

Just after the Pullman strike in 1893, I was a member of a

committee appointed by the Civic Federation to consult with leading employers and capitalists in Chicago about calling a conference on the subject of arbitration. One of the most astonishing discoveries made by the committee was that a large number of prominent business men had not so much as heard that arbitration had ever been tried. They had never heard of the Massachusetts or the Pennsylvania experiment, still less of English, French, and Swiss plans. They thought arbitration was an off-hand invention of some Chicago enthusiasts, or at best a theory concocted by a few irresponsible college professors. These men were open to argument, they were willing to hear facts, and they finally furnished the money for the conference; but if this process of education and persuasion had been omitted, they might have considered "arbitration" a pure theory to this day.

A well-known eastern expert in economics has long contended that the labor problem might be settled in the United States if we would reduce ourselves to the corn standard of food, at the same time holding on to the wheat standard of wages. As a mere proposition in arithmetic, that is a perfectly clear solution. The margin between the wheat and the corn standard of diet would save to the workers of the country enough for luxuries to absorb all the idle labor. No politics, no legislation, no revolution is called for in the programme. Why not solve the social problem by this easy device? Simply because the stupid facts of human inertia and incredulity are in the way. A fact may come to light and be accepted by a few. It is quite another matter to persuade the multitude that it is a fact. Until they are persuaded, to all practical intents and purposes the fact might as well not exist. No matter what we may discover about better ways of living, until enough individuals accept the discovery as fact, agitations for action on the lines of the discovery are simply putting the cart before the horse. Next to discovery must come education. We must spread the news. We must make known the better ways of doing things. We must show that they have worked, and therefore will work in like circumstances again. Any social agitation which does not conform to this programme is bound to run amuck. The reason is that men's minds work

this way, and social progress must, sooner or later, reckon with the mental make-up of the people concerned.

Then, third, as to the need of individual adjustment. Suppose we have discovered some facts which make for the solution of the social problem. Suppose enough people are convinced that these methods are in the line of progress to make the change practicable, if the convinced people say so. Is progress then to be expected at once? If men were built on the automatic, self-winding, time-lock, hair-trigger plan, yes. But they are not. Some people will jump at a new scheme, simply because it is new, if nobody can get ahead of their impulsiveness and point out objections. But, on the whole, it is decidedly human to let some time pass between our admission that a thing is useful and our decision to use it.

For instance, Tolstoi and Wallace have described the hostility of Russian peasants to modern farming implements. They tell us that, over and over again, after the reaping and threshing machines had proved their capacity, the peasants have waited until the proprietor was out of sight, and then have smashed the innovations. When I was a student in Berlin, sixteen years ago, I got a large amount of free instruction in German by arguing with the barbers about the "clipper." Whenever I seated myself in the barber's chair, I would start the question: "Why do you not use the clipper, as the barbers do in America?" The reply would always be: "O, they are very good things, but—," and then each would have a different reason for not adopting them. One would say, "It isn't professional;" another, "They are too expensive;" another, "Our customers wouldn't like them," etc., etc. It was only the usual pause before adopting improvements. Last autumn I went to the same shop in the Kaiserhof, and each of the twenty barbers employed had a box that reminded me of a surgeon's case, containing four clippers, besides all the other tools of a barber's outfit. There had to be a gradual personal adjustment, but it came at last and made a reform.

The New England town of 8,000 inhabitants in which I lived for eleven years did not contain a sewer when I first became a taxpayer. For a long time nobody could be made to admit

that sewers were needed. Gradually a few people took advantage of natural water courses, and turned their sewage adrift for the benefit of the people down stream. Then a beginning of public sewerage was made as an experiment, and later an extensive system was carried out by the town. Up to the date of my removal, however, all the wisdom of the town had failed to make the citizens generally take advantage of this new means of sanitation. There were many householders who still endangered the health of their neighbors by lazily assenting to the abstract proposition that "drainage is a good thing for the town," while they refused to connect their own premises with the sewers. Discovery, persuasion, and, after that, individual adjustment are steps in the social process for each of which time has to be allowed; and a sane social leader will discount this necessity and govern his programme accordingly.

Fourth, in case of any extensive reform, all these elements have to be subordinated to a process of social adaptation. This may not always come last in actual order, but it always has its turn and its influence somewhere in the series. For brevity I illustrate merely by reference to recent legislation in Illinois. We long ago discovered our need of reform in various directions. A certain percentage of our citizens had reached conclusions about better ways of conducting our affairs. It was necessary to change our public organization more or less. We had to get new statutes enacted. In that way we adapted our state and municipal institutions to a better order of things in connection with our revenue system, our primary elections, the merit system in the civil service, registration of land titles, etc., etc.; but meanwhile we dropped a cog in social adaptation by losing our grip on control of city franchises.

The point which I am urging is that all the other stages in social reform are abortive until this stage of social adaptation, in some form or other, supplies its share in the conditions of social progress. All the clear ideas in the minds of individuals, all the fervent exhortations to act in accordance with the ideas, may be so much waste material and misdirected energy. This is the case if there exists a veto upon the application of the ideas, in the

shape of social arrangements with which the ideas cannot coöperate. It is the case if the champions of the ideas fail to direct their energies to the reconstruction of those traditional social arrangements. For example, we may say that the marriage and divorce laws of the United States ought to be uniform ; and it is true. We may, accordingly, draft a law as we think it ought to be, and we may present it to Congress and demand its adoption. We might as well ask for a law requiring the sun to rise in San Francisco. Our constitution is such that Congress has no power in the premises, and our efforts must follow another line—*i. e.*, either amendments to the constitution or uniform state legislation—or they will be futile.

Having thus indicated some of the limits which social sanity must recognize, I must call special attention, further, to the fact that these barriers do not miraculously disappear from our path when we claim to approach social problems "in the light of the teachings of Jesus."¹ For my part, I have no doubt that all genuine social progress fits with the spirit of Christian teaching. More than that, I believe that the New Testament leads in the direction of the best social progress. But this does not tell the whole story. The Christian revelation means that right is sovereign and will prevail, but Jesus did not profess to furnish specifications that would inform us in advance what the specific right is in all the changing complexities of life. The teaching of Jesus is that, if anything turns out to be unfair, God is against it, and Christians must quit it and fight it. If anything turns out to be fair, God is for it, and Christians must adopt and defend it. Our opinion about a disputed question of fairness does not deserve another feather's weight of influence simply because we label it "the teaching of Jesus." On the contrary, so many addle-brains have tried to get an influence upon social problems by claiming the indorsement of Jesus for their foolish frothings that any social doctrine which claims the sanction of Jesus encounters the *prima facie* suspicion of being a fraud. Men who have been unwilling to study either the teachings of Jesus or the conditions of social problems scientifically have persistently

¹ *Vide* note, p. 335.

demanded a hearing, as specially accredited apostles of social righteousness. Christian sanity, in dealing with social questions, involves, on the one hand, the most patient study of the fundamental ethics disclosed in the New Testament, and, on the other hand, thorough analytical study of the complexities of our modern social conditions. To revert to the main illustration of this paper, no man has a right to say what Jesus would call "fair distribution" among modern men, till our knowledge of cause and effect in our present industrial system reveals to us clearer theorems of fairness and unfairness under present relations.

But the zealots say: "This gives no chance for social ideals! This does not allow us to exhort men to do the better things that they know!" Men of the impetuous type that I have in mind demand: "Is the 'law of love' no index of social duty? May we not exhort men, 'Do to others as you would have them do to you'?" I answer, yes, of course, and no one will denounce more stoutly than I any violation of these laws. No one will exhort more loyally than I for obedience to these social principles. But let us not throw dust in each other's eyes, while we are professing to show what these laws reveal.

An illustration occurs to me from Dr. Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne, Quaker*. The father, the mother, and the rich aunt each sincerely loved Hugh, the hero of the story. The father's love followed one set of judgments, and he did what he could to spoil his son by over-severity. The aunt's love obeyed another set of judgments, and she did what she could to spoil the boy by over-indulgence. The mother's love listened to a third system of judgments, and she was in a fair way to make both evil influences effective by irresolute and inconsistent mediation. What was the trouble? Love was the law of each. Why did not love direct the three persons alike and rightly? Because there is a difference between the *feeling* of love and the *principle* of love and the *programme* of love. This difference is what our zealous agitators in the name of Christian righteousness do not understand.

The *feeling* of love may be described as the sentiment of devotion to the good of its object. This feeling alone is literally

blind, whether its object is son or lover or neighbor or humanity or God.

The *principle* of love, among those who accept Christian standards, is: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This principle is also blind as a direct guide to details of action in a new case. For example, it does not tell us what sort of a constitution should be given to "free Cuba," or what plan of currency reform would accomplish most, or what is the best method of preventing juvenile crime. Having the feeling of love and the formal principle, we must have an enlightened *programme* of love.

The programme corresponding with the feeling and the principle of love must be discovered at every new turn of circumstances. We need to find out what we would want others to do to us if we were in the new circumstances and fully understood them. Until that discovery is made, the man who wants to obey the Christian law of love, without being willing to investigate the circumstances, may stumble on the right thing to do, but he runs a hundred risks of doing the wrong thing. By virtue of this sentiment of love, he is not infallible by any means. He must make up his judgments about the application of his feeling of love, just as the churches of the United States are today¹ forming their opinions about the duty of our government toward the Philippines. We cannot claim to utter any Christian dictum upon details until we are better instructed about all the facts.

What conclusions are to be drawn from the foregoing considerations? I will mention four: First, we may do incalculable damage by agitation that disregards these principles. If we agitate for social adaptation before there is persuasion and education, or for individual adjustment before there is discovery, we assume, and we teach others to assume, that there is ripeness for social change, when we are really accountable for knowing and for showing that the fullness of the times is not yet come.

Second: The men who declaim against "society," and especially against "the church," for not ushering in Kingdom Come

¹ September, 1898.

at once are incurring grave responsibility for reckless use of half-truths.

Third: The professional champions of the poor, who cater to the impression that slow pace in social progress is due to the faults of the rich, are robbing Peter of precious reputation to pay Paul with irredeemable expectations. While I have never had a relative, so far as I know, who could be classified as rich, I have from boyhood been on terms of intimacy with rich men and their families, from those called rich in a country town to some so rated in Chicago. I have not known a very large proportion of the rich people in the United States, to be sure, any more than I have known a large proportion of the poor. So far as my acquaintance with rich men has gone, however, it has brought me into personal contact with just two individuals to whom I would be willing to apply any of the terms of opprobrium which so many social agitators feel at liberty to fling freely at rich men in general. My own observation leads me to the conclusion that rich men, as a rule, have a conscience that is quite as active as the conscience of the poor. Rich men, as I have known them, feel their social responsibilities, and are as genuine as their poorer neighbors in desire to discharge them. Indeed, my own personal complaint against rich men, as a class, is that they feel *too much* responsibility, and often stand in the way of progress by assuming that they are the only capable judges and executors of what is good for the people, while the people cannot be trusted to decide what is good for themselves. Ill-balanced social agitators confirm this tendency in rich men when they rouse the masses to chimerical sentiments.

It is a false analysis which divides men, in connection with social progress, into the rich and the poor. That is not the real line of cleavage. Men are sagacious and foolish. Men are unselfish and selfish. My acquaintance with rich men makes me believe that the unselfish among them are in the vast majority. There should be, not suspicion, but mutual understanding and sympathy between the wise and generous rich and the wise and generous poor.

Fourth: I am perfectly aware that certain of those who are

looking to this conference for light will be highly displeased with what I have said, and will be ready to impute a total and final conclusion entirely foreign to the spirit of my argument. They will say: "He means, then, that we should never agitate at all, and indeed never try to do anything. Let things go. Every man for himself. Don't try to make any improvement." I will not say that I do not care for the criticisms of men who will draw this inference. I do care for it. They are the very men whom I have had in mind in preparing this paper. I wish I could persuade them that I want to do more and better than they can ever accomplish by any programme which does not pay due regard to the principles here set forth.

My own conclusion is that, because there is so much to be done, no prudent man will jeopardize any part of it, even temporarily, by tolerating a false method. "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." Wise and sane sympathizers with the social movement may and will share, at a thousand points, in promoting splendid social progress.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF OWNERSHIP.

In the accepted economic theories the ground of ownership is commonly conceived to be the productive labor of the owner. This is taken, without reflection or question, to be the legitimate basis of property; he who has produced a useful thing should possess and enjoy it. On this head the socialists and the economists of the classical line—the two extremes of economic speculation—are substantially at one. The point is not in controversy, or at least it has not been until recently; it has been accepted as an axiomatic premise. With the socialists it has served as the ground of their demand that the laborer should receive the full product of his labor. To classical economists the axiom has, perhaps, been as much trouble as it has been worth. It has given them no end of bother to explain how the capitalist is the “producer” of the goods that pass into his possession, and how it is true that the laborer gets what he produces. Sporadic instances of ownership quite dissociated from creative industry are recognized and taken account of as departures from the normal; they are due to disturbing causes. The main position is scarcely questioned, that in the normal case wealth is distributed in proportion to—and in some cogent sense because of—the recipient's contribution to the product.

Not only is the productive labor of the owner the definitive ground of his ownership today, but the derivation of the institution of property is similarly traced to the productive labor of that putative savage hunter who produced two deer or one beaver or twelve fish. The conjectural history of the origin of property, so far as it has been written by the economists, has been constructed out of conjecture proceeding on the preconceptions of Natural Rights and a coercive Order of Nature. To anyone who approaches the question of ownership with only an incidental interest in its solution (as is true of the classical, pre-evolutionary economists), and fortified with the preconceptions

of natural rights, all this seems plain. It sufficiently accounts for the institution, both in point of logical derivation and in point of historical development. The "natural" owner is the person who has "produced" an article, or who, by a constructively equivalent expenditure of productive force, has found and appropriated an object. It is conceived that such a person becomes the owner of the article by virtue of the immediate logical inclusion of the idea of ownership under the idea of creative industry.

This natural-rights theory of property makes the creative effort of an isolated, self-sufficing individual the basis of the ownership vested in him. In so doing it overlooks the fact that there is no isolated, self-sufficing individual. All production is, in fact, a production in and by the help of the community, and all wealth is such only in society. Within the human period of the race development, it is safe to say, no individual has fallen into industrial isolation, so as to produce any one useful article by his own independent effort alone. Even where there is no mechanical coöperation, men are always guided by the experience of others. The only possible exceptions to this rule are those instances of lost or cast-off children nourished by wild beasts, of which half-authenticated accounts have gained currency from time to time. But the anomalous, half-hypothetical life of these waifs can scarcely have affected social development to the extent of originating the institution of ownership.

Production takes place only in society—only through the coöperation of an industrial community. This industrial community may be large or small; its limits are commonly somewhat vaguely defined; but it always comprises a group large enough to contain and transmit the traditions, tools, technical knowledge, and usages without which there can be no industrial organization and no economic relation of individuals to one another or to their environment. The isolated individual is not a productive agent. What he can do at best is to live from season to season, as the non-gregarious animals do. There can be no production without technical knowledge; hence no accumulation and no wealth to be owned, in severalty or otherwise.

And there is no technical knowledge apart from an industrial community. Since there is no individual production and no individual productivity, the natural-rights preconception that ownership rests on the individually productive labor of the owner reduces itself to absurdity, even under the logic of its own assumptions.

Some writers who have taken up the question from the ethnological side hold that the institution is to be traced to the customary use of weapons and ornaments by individuals. Others have found its origin in the social group's occupation of a given piece of land, which it held forcibly against intruders, and which it came in this way to "own." The latter hypothesis bases the collective ownership of land on a collective act of seizure, or tenure by prowess, so that it differs fundamentally from the view which bases ownership on productive labor.

The view that ownership is an outgrowth of the customary consumption of such things as weapons and ornaments by individuals is well supported by appearances and has also the qualified sanction of the natural-rights preconception. The usages of all known primitive tribes seem at first sight to bear out this view. In all communities the individual members exercise a more or less unrestrained right of use and abuse over their weapons, if they have any, as well as over many articles of ornament, clothing, and the toilet. In the eyes of the modern economist this usage would count as ownership. So that, if the question is construed to be simply a question of material fact, as to the earliest emergence of usages which would in the latter-day classification be brought under the head of ownership, then it would have to be said that ownership must have begun with the conversion of these articles to individual use. But the question will have to be answered in the contrary sense if we shift our ground to the point of view of the primitive men whose institutions are under review. The point in question is the origin of the institution of ownership, as it first takes shape in the habits of thought of the early barbarian. The question concerns the derivation of the idea of ownership or property. What is of interest for the present purpose is not whether we,

with our preconceptions, would look upon the relation of the primitive savage or barbarian to his slight personal effects as a relation of ownership, but whether that is his own apprehension of the matter. It is a question as to the light in which the savage himself habitually views these objects that pertain immediately to his person and are set apart for his habitual use. Like all questions of the derivation of institutions, it is essentially a question of folk-psychology, not of mechanical fact; and, when so conceived, it must be answered in the negative.

The unsophisticated man, whether savage or civilized, is prone to conceive phenomena in terms of personality; these being terms with which he has a first-hand acquaintance. This habit is more unbroken in the savage than in civilized men. All obvious manifestations of force are apprehended as expressions of conation—effort put forth for a purpose by some agency similar to the human will. The point of view of the archaic culture is that of forceful, pervading personality, whose unfolding life is the substantial fact held in view in every relation into which men or things enter. This point of view in large measure shapes and colors all the institutions of the early culture—and in a less degree the later phases of culture. Under the guidance of this habit of thought, the relation of any individual to his personal effects is conceived to be of a more intimate kind than that of ownership simply. Ownership is too external and colorless a term to describe the fact.

In the apprehension of the savage and the barbarian the limits of his person do not coincide with the limits which modern biological science would recognize. His individuality is conceived to cover, somewhat vaguely and uncertainly, a pretty wide fringe of facts and objects that pertain to him more or less immediately. To our sense of the matter these items lie outside the limits of his person, and to many of them we would conceive him to stand in an economic rather than in an organic relation. This quasi-personal fringe of facts and objects commonly comprises the man's shadow; the reflection of his image in water or any similar surface; his name; his peculiar tattoo

marks; his totem, if he has one; his glance; his breath, especially when it is visible; the print of his hand and foot; the sound of his voice; any image or representation of his person; any excretions or exhalations from his person; parings of his nails; cuttings of his hair; his ornaments and amulets; clothing that is in daily use, especially what has been shaped to his person, and more particularly if there is wrought into it any totemic or other design peculiar to him; his weapons, especially his favorite weapons and those which he habitually carries. Beyond these there is a great number of other, remoter things which may or may not be included in the quasi-personal fringe.

As regards this entire range of facts and objects, it is to be said that the "zone of influence" of the individual's personality is not conceived to cover them all with the same degree of potency; his individuality shades off by insensible, penumbral gradations into the external world. The objects and facts that fall within the quasi-personal fringe figure in the habits of thought of the savage as personal to him in a vital sense. They are not a congeries of things to which he stands in an economic relation and to which he has an equitable, legal claim. These articles are conceived to be his in much the same sense as his hands and feet are his, or his pulse-beat, or his digestion, or the heat of his body, or the motions of his limbs or brain.

For the satisfaction of any who may be inclined to question this view, appeal may be taken to the usages of almost any people. Some such notion of a pervasive personality, or a penumbra of personality, is implied, for instance, in the giving and keeping of presents and mementos. It is more indubitably present in the working of charms; in all sorcery; in the sacraments and similar devout observances; in such practices as the Tibetan prayer-wheel; in the adoration of relics, images, and symbols; in the almost universal veneration of consecrated places and structures; in astrology; in divination by means of hair-cuttings, nail-parings, photographs, etc. Perhaps the least debatable evidence of belief in such a quasi-personal fringe is afforded by the practices of sympathetic magic; and the practices are strikingly similar in substance the world over—from

the love-charm to the sacrament. Their substantial ground is the belief that a desired effect can be wrought upon a given person through the means of some object lying within his quasi-personal fringe. The person who is approached in this way may be a fellow-mortal, or it may be some potent spiritual agent whose intercession is sought for good or ill. If the sorcerer or anyone who works a charm can in any way get at the "penumbra" of a person's individuality, as embodied in his fringe of quasi-personal facts, he will be able to work good or ill to the person to whom the fact or object pertains; and the magic rites performed to this end will work their effect with greater force and precision in proportion as the object which affords the point of attack is more intimately related to the person upon whom the effect is to be wrought. An economic relation, simply, does not afford a handle for sorcery. It may be set down that whenever the relation of a person to a given object is made use of for the purposes of sympathetic magic, the relation is conceived to be something more vital than simple legal ownership.

Such meager belongings of the primitive savage as would under the nomenclature of a later day be classed as personal property are not thought of by him as his property at all; they pertain organically to his person. Of the things comprised in his quasi-personal fringe all do not pertain to him with the same degree of intimacy or persistency; but those articles which are more remotely or more doubtfully included under his individuality are not therefore conceived to be partly organic to him and partly his property simply. The alternative does not lie between this organic relation and ownership. It may easily happen that a given article lying along the margin of the quasi-personal fringe is eliminated from it and is alienated, either by default through lapse of time or by voluntary severance of the relation. But when this happens the article is not conceived to escape from the organic relation into a remoter category of things that are owned by and external to the person in question. If an object escapes in this way from the organic sphere of one person, it may pass into the sphere of another; or, if it is an

article that lends itself to common use, it may pass into the common stock of the community.

As regards this common stock, no concept of ownership, either communal or individual, applies in the primitive community. The idea of a communal ownership is of relatively late growth, and must by psychological necessity have been preceded by the idea of individual ownership. Ownership is an accredited discretionary power over an object on the ground of a conventional claim; it implies that the owner is a personal agent who takes thought for the disposal of the object owned. A personal agent is an individual, and it is only by an eventual refinement—of the nature of a legal fiction—that any group of men is conceived to exercise a corporate discretion over objects. Ownership implies an individual owner. It is only by reflection, and by extending the scope of a concept which is already familiar, that a quasi-personal corporate discretion and control of this kind comes to be imputed to a group of persons. Corporate ownership is quasi-ownership only; it is therefore necessarily a derivative concept, and cannot have preceded the concept of individual ownership of which it is a counterfeit.

After the idea of ownership has been elaborated and has gained some consistency, it is not unusual to find the notion of pervasion by the user's personality applied to articles owned by him. At the same time a given article may also be recognized as lying within the quasi-personal fringe of one person while it is owned by another—as, for instance, ornaments and other articles of daily use which in a personal sense belong to a slave or to an inferior member of a patriarchal household, but which as property belong to the master or head of the household. The two categories, (*a*) things to which one's personality extends by way of pervasion and (*b*) things owned, by no means coincide; nor does the one supplant the other. The two ideas are so far from identical that the same object may belong to one person under the one concept and to another person under the other; and, on the other hand, the same person may stand in both relations to a given object without the one concept being lost in the other. A given article may change owners without passing out of the

quasi-personal fringe of the person under whose "self" it has belonged, as, for instance, a photograph or any other memento. A familiar instance is the mundane ownership of any consecrated place or structure which in the personal sense belongs to the saint or deity to whom it is sacred.

The two concepts are so far distinct, or even disparate, as to make it extremely improbable that the one has been developed out of the other by a process of growth. A transition involving such a substitution of ideas could scarcely take place except on some notable impulse from without. Such a step would amount to the construction of a new category and a reclassification of certain selected facts under the new head. The impulse to reclassify the facts and things that are comprised in the quasi-personal fringe, so as to place some of them, together with certain other things, under the new category of ownership, must come from some constraining exigency of later growth than the concept whose province it invades. The new category is not simply an amplified form of the old. Not every item that was originally conceived to belong to an individual by way of pervasion comes to be counted as an item of his wealth after the idea of wealth has come into vogue. Such items, for instance, as a person's footprint, or his image or effigy, or his name, are very tardily included under the head of articles owned by him, if they are eventually included at all. It is a fortuitous circumstance if they come to be owned by him, but they long continue to hold their place in his quasi-personal fringe. The disparity of the two concepts is well brought out by the case of the domestic animals. These non-human individuals are incapable of ownership, but there is imputed to them the attribute of a pervasive individuality, which extends to such items as their footprints, their stalls, clippings of hair, and the like. These items are made use of for the purposes of sympathetic magic even in modern civilized communities. An illustration that may show this disparity between ownership and pervasion in a still stronger light is afforded by the vulgar belief that the moon's phases may have a propitious or sinister effect on human affairs. The inconstant moon is conceived to work good or ill through a

sympathetic influence or spiritual infection which suggests a quasi-personal fringe, but which assuredly does not imply ownership on her part.

Ownership is not a simple and instinctive notion that is naïvely included under the notion of productive effort on the one hand, nor under that of habitual use on the other. It is not something given to begin with, as an item of the isolated individual's mental furniture; something which has to be unlearned in part when men come to coöperate in production and make working arrangements and mutual renunciations under the stress of associated life—after the manner imputed by the social-contract theory. It is a conventional fact and has to be learned; it is a cultural fact which has grown into an institution in the past through a long course of habituation, and which is transmitted from generation to generation as all cultural facts are.

On going back a little way into the cultural history of our own past, we come upon a situation which says that the fact of a person's being engaged in industry was *prima facie* evidence that he could own nothing. Under serfdom and slavery those who work cannot own, and those who own cannot work. Even very recently—culturally speaking—there was no suspicion that a woman's work, in the patriarchal household, should entitle her to own the products of her work. Farther back in the barbarian culture, while the patriarchal household was in better preservation than it is now, this position was accepted with more unquestioning faith. The head of the household alone could hold property; and even the scope of his ownership was greatly qualified if he had a feudal superior. The tenure of property is a tenure by prowess, on the one hand, and a tenure by sufferance at the hands of a superior, on the other hand. The recourse to prowess as the definitive basis of tenure becomes more immediate and more habitual the farther the development is traced back into the early barbarian culture; until, on the lower levels of barbarism or the upper levels of savagery, "the good old plan" prevails with but little mitigation. There are always certain conventions, a certain understanding as to what are the

legitimate conditions and circumstances that surround ownership and its transmission, chief among which is the fact of habitual acceptance. What has been currently accepted as the *status quo*—vested interest—is right and good so long as it does not meet a challenge backed by irresistible force. Property rights sanctioned by immemorial usage are inviolable, as all immemorial usage is, except in the face of forcible dispossession. But seizure and forcible retention very shortly gain the legitimation of usage, and the resulting tenure becomes inviolable through habituation. *Beati possidentes*.

Throughout the barbarian culture, where this tenure by prowess prevails, the population falls into two economic classes: those engaged in industrial employments, and those engaged in such non-industrial pursuits as war, government, sports, and religious observances. In the earlier and more naïve stages of barbarism the former, in the normal case, own nothing; the latter own such property as they have seized, or such as has, under the sanction of usage, descended upon them from their forebears who seized and held it. At a still lower level of culture, in the primitive savage horde, the population is not similarly divided into economic classes. There is no leisure class resting its prerogative on coercion, prowess, and immemorial status; and there is also no ownership.

It will hold as a rough generalization that in communities where there is no invidious distinction between employments, as exploit, on the one hand, and drudgery, on the other, there is also no tenure of property. In the cultural sequence, ownership does not begin before the rise of a canon of exploit; but it is to be added that it also does not seem to begin with the first beginning of exploit as a manly occupation. In these very rude early communities, especially in the unpropertied hordes of peaceable savages, the rule is that the product of any member's effort is consumed by the group to which he belongs; and it is consumed collectively or indiscriminately, without question of individual right or ownership. The question of ownership is not brought up by the fact that an article has been produced or is at hand in finished form for consumption.

The earliest occurrence of ownership seems to fall in the early stages of barbarism, and the emergence of the institution of ownership is apparently a concomitant of the transition from a peaceable to a predatory habit of life. It is a prerogative of that class in the barbarian culture which leads a life of exploit rather than of industry. The pervading characteristic of the barbarian culture, as distinguished from the peaceable phase of life that precedes it, is the element of exploit, coercion, and seizure. In its earlier phases ownership is this habit of coercion and seizure reduced to system and consistency under the surveillance of usage.

The practice of seizing and accumulating goods on individual account could not have come into vogue to the extent of founding a new institution under the peaceable communistic régime of primitive savagery; for the dissensions arising from any such resort to mutual force and fraud among its members would have been fatal to the group. For a similar reason individual ownership of consumable goods could not come in with the first beginnings of predatory life; for the primitive fighting horde still needs to consume its scanty means of subsistence in common, in order to give the collective horde its full fighting efficiency. Otherwise it would succumb before any rival horde that had not yet given up collective consumption.

With the advent of predatory life comes the practice of plundering—of seizing goods from the enemy. But in order that the plundering habit should give rise to individual ownership of the things seized, these things must be goods of a somewhat lasting kind, and not immediately consumable means of subsistence. Under the primitive culture the means of subsistence are habitually consumed in common by the group, and the manner in which such goods are consumed is fixed according to an elaborate system of usage. This usage is not readily broken over, for it is a substantial part of the habits of life of every individual member. The practice of collective consumption is at the same time necessary to the survival of the group, and this necessity is present in men's minds and exercises a surveillance over the formation of habits of thought as to what is right

and seemly. Any propensity to aggression at this early stage will, therefore, not assert itself in the seizure and retention of consumable goods; nor does the temptation to do so readily present itself, since the idea of individual appropriation of a store of goods is alien to the archaic man's general habits of thought.

The idea of property is not readily attached to anything but tangible and lasting articles. It is only where commercial development is well advanced—where bargain and sale is a large feature in the community's life—that the more perishable articles of consumption are thought of as items of wealth at all. The still more evanescent results of personal service are still more difficult to bring in under the idea of wealth. So much so that the attempt to classify services as wealth is meaningless to laymen, and even the adept economists hold a divided opinion as to the intelligibility of such a classification. In the common-sense apprehension the idea of property is not currently attached to any but tangible, vendible goods of some durability. This is true even in modern civilized communities, where pecuniary ideas and the pecuniary point of view prevail. In a like manner and for a like reason, in an earlier, non-commercial phase of culture there is less occasion for and greater difficulty in applying the concept of ownership to anything but obviously durable articles.

But durable articles of use and consumption which are seized in the raids of a predatory horde are either articles of general use or they are articles of immediate and continued personal use to the person who has seized them. In the former case the goods are consumed in common by the group, without giving rise to a notion of ownership; in the latter case they fall into the class of things that pertain organically to the person of their user, and they would, therefore, not figure as items of property or make up a store of wealth.

It is difficult to see how an institution of ownership could have arisen in the early days of predatory life through the seizure of goods, but the case is different with the seizure of persons. Captives are items that do not fit into the scheme of communal

consumption, and their appropriation by their individual captor works no manifest detriment to the group. At the same time these captives continue to be obviously distinct from their captor in point of individuality, and so are not readily brought in under the quasi-personal fringe. The captives taken under rude conditions are chiefly women. There are good reasons for this. Except where there is a slave class of men, the women are more useful, as well as more easily controlled, in the primitive group. Their labor is worth more to the group than their maintenance, and as they do not carry weapons, they are less formidable than men captives would be. They serve the purpose of trophies very effectually, and it is therefore worth while for their captor to trace and keep in evidence his relation to them as their captor. To this end he maintains an attitude of dominance and coercion toward women captured by him; and, as being the insignia of his prowess, he does not suffer them to stand at the beck and call of rival warriors. They are fit subjects for command and constraint; it ministers to both his honor and his vanity to domineer over them, and their utility in this respect is very great. But his domineering over them is the evidence of his prowess, and it is incompatible with their utility as trophies that other men should take the liberties with his women which serve as evidence of the coercive relation of captor.

When the practice hardens into custom, the captor comes to exercise a customary right to exclusive use and abuse over the women he has seized; and this customary right of use and abuse over an object which is obviously not an organic part of his person constitutes the relation of ownership, as naively apprehended. After this usage of capture has found its way into the habits of the community, the women so held in constraint and in evidence will commonly fall into a conventionally recognized marriage relation with their captor. The result is a new form of marriage, in which the man is master. This ownership-marriage seems to be the original both of private property and of the patriarchal household. Both of these great institutions are, accordingly, of an emulative origin.

The varying details of the development whereby owner-

ship extends to other persons than captured women cannot be taken up here; neither can the further growth of the marriage institution that came into vogue at the same time with ownership. Probably at a point in the economic evolution not far subsequent to the definitive installation of the institution of ownership-marriage comes, as its consequence, the ownership of consumable goods. The women held in servile marriage not only render personal service to their master, but they are also employed in the production of articles of use. All the non-combatant or ignoble members of the community are habitually so employed. And when the habit of looking upon and claiming the persons identified with my invidious interest, or subservient to me, as "mine" has become an accepted and integral part of men's habits of thought, it becomes a relatively easy matter to extend this newly achieved concept of ownership to the products of the labor performed by the persons so held in ownership. And the same propensity for emulation which bears so great a part in shaping the original institution of ownership extends its action to the new category of things owned. Not only are the products of the women's labor claimed and valued for their serviceability in furthering the comfort and fullness of life of the master, but they are valuable also as a conspicuous evidence of his possessing many and efficient servants, and they are therefore useful as an evidence of his superior force. The appropriation and accumulation of consumable goods could scarcely have come into vogue as a direct outgrowth of the primitive horde-communism, but it comes in as an easy and unobtrusive consequence of the ownership of persons.

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STUDIES IN POLITICAL AREAS. III.

THE SMALL POLITICAL AREA.

THE smaller the area, the more rapid is the progress of its history. A limited territory is more easily mastered; it develops industrially and politically at an earlier period. The high degree of exploitation practiced in it produces for a time more of the various elements of power—men and wealth—than a large area does. Individuals, classes, parties, races, are brought nearer together; the adjustment of differences is often hastened by force, and the development of the whole thereby promoted. The history of the small area is, therefore, that of a country in the lead, with a capacity to impart a powerful stimulus to others. Thus it happens that limited regions have, for short periods, been more influential historically than large ones. This is the meaning of Johann von Müller's saying: "Most great things have been accomplished by small nations or by men of little strength and great mind." The districts limited by nature assume the leadership for a large region; this function then gradually passes over to states of larger extent, with slower but more lasting progress, in proportion as their greater resources are developed. Thus we see the general advance of mankind from smaller to larger areas repeating itself, and consequently the types peculiar to restriction and expansion regularly following one another. After Greece came Italy; after Denmark, the German coast, with the Hanse towns and the Prussian colonies of the Teutonic knights; after Portugal, Spain; after the Netherlands, England; after Brandenburg, Prussia; after the West Indies, North America; after New England, the United States; after Bengal, India; and after Cape Colony, English South Africa, reaching to the Zambezi. We speak of the great political influence which it has fallen to the lot of small states to wield, and we overlook the fact that this has often become prominent just in the transition from the narrow area of prepa-

ration to the broader one of expansion. From the time there has been a history telling about different tribes and nations on terms of rivalry or acting and reacting upon one another, one has always had the lead. It opens the way, sets the example, and exercises thereby a powerful influence in political, intellectual, or economic matters, the first two more often from an economic basis. Such a people always operates with concentrated strength from a small territory upon outside aims. England offers in the present the most stupendous example of the kind, and that with results which cannot yet be measured.

The progress of historical events enacted within close, confined limits gives the impression of something finished, which even appeals to the æsthetic sense in comparison with movements losing themselves in the vast perspective. The more thorough comprehension and utilization of natural conditions here necessary cause the historical individuality to mature earlier and to reveal more sharply drawn features. In a restricted environment, moreover, man himself appears great as a molder of history. There is a certain attractive definiteness in the great history of little states, from Greece and Rome to Great Britain. This is undoubtedly what Spörer meant when he said that "the process of development of the ancient mind had something of the clearness and distinctness of an artistic composition."¹ This is particularly true of the history of the city-states; they, indeed, are the greatest examples of historical greatness in ancient times. Their importance, as well as the interest which they arouse in us, is altogether out of proportion to their area, but not to the closeness of the connection existing between the land and its people participating as one body in all the movements of its history.

The very thing which limits and hems in a region often affords to the life forcing its way upward in narrow confinement the possibility of expansion and a field of activity in distant parts. It is true that in the Mediterranean countries the limited character of the area, determined by land and climate, tended to

¹ SPÖRER'S notice of C. CURTIUS' "Topographie von Athen," *Geographische Mitteilungen*, 1869, p. 46.

concentrate and intensify everything. This was the case in Egypt and Mesopotamia, just as in Greece and Rome; but the latter stood in connection with a broad sphere of action in the numerous seas to which they had access through their thousand bays, and on which they first secured proper play for their concentrated energies. We find the same two conditions and the same result in Carthage as in Lübeck, Genoa, and Venice. Denmark also, the Netherlands, and Portugal show this same combination of complete isolation in their older, internal development, with all the advantages of transoceanic expansion. In the continuous union of the two, in consequence of which the widest spreading of the people could not break the wholesome bonds of an intense political personality, lies the unrivaled greatness of the British empire. Small inland states, also, press toward these fields of greater activity, which, however, are open to them only through some connection with maritime powers, as in the Hanse towns and in Augsburg's relation with Spain in Venezuela, or by a non-political participation in the competition of foreign trade, such as Switzerland has assumed with great success. The fact that Switzerland and Belgium afford the most fruitful soil in Europe today for international dreams and plans, not seldom Utopian in their character, reminds us of the saying: "The Swiss must have a loophole."¹

A number of the effects of these naturally isolated regions result simply from their limited area, and therefore characterize islands also, inasmuch as in them the limitation of the territory is absolute. While the population of a small country can spread beyond its boundaries as far as the habitable land extends, in islands all habitation ceases at their shores. This condition makes for that rapidly increasing density of population which we have characterized in our *Anthropogeographie* as their "early statistic maturity," with the immediate consequences, emigration, colonization, and commerce. Upon islands, therefore, the question of space acquires particular importance² as an element in economic and political affairs; their nature and form lead

¹ HILTY, *Vorlesungen über die Politik der Eidgenossenschaft*, 1875, p. 69.

² See *Anthropogeographie*, II, pp. 237 et seq.

islands to a careful use of their scant territory, their position to the enjoyment of unlimited space, and out of the combination of these two impulses issue the greatest historical results.

The other great European powers which aim at the same goal as England have been very slow, in the course of their development, to make the most of their greater area—the one advantage which the little island country could never contest with them. Meantime, the latter has continued to exercise the influence which emanates from a more mature, advanced people. A great part of the development of Europe has consisted in the assimilation of English ideas and institutions, and by reason of the immense start which this small land has in the race, this process will continue to endure for a long time yet, especially since English influence is already beginning to make itself felt by way of North America, for example, from non-European countries also. Even yet, one-half the total merchant fleet of all maritime states carries the English flag, and England's exports are equal to those of Germany and France together, although its area is only one-third as large. For all the other European states, naturally, one of the most important questions is, how far they may follow the course of this progressive country, which is by its geographical character so much more free and independent, without disregarding their own peculiar conditions. Consider how far Japan has outstripped China and Corea; and this has happened not merely since the invasion of European and American influence, which could penetrate the smaller country more easily and pervade it quickly, whereas in the tenfold population of China it could not reach beyond the borders: even before, Japan had of herself modified and further developed the elements of Chinese civilization which had come over to her chiefly by way of Corea, and since the seventeenth century she had already adopted very gradually the acquisitions of European culture, mainly under the guidance of Holland. In consequence, she was far ahead of China even before the great turning-point of 1853. San Domingo and Cuba successively progressed, not only beyond the other West India islands, but all Central America. On the eve of the French Revolution, San

Domingo's flourishing condition stood without a parallel in colonial history. The leading position then assumed in turn by Cuba would have been more lasting, had it not been for the competition offered by the immense area of the United States, upon which Cuba is becoming more and more dependent.

The wholesome limitation of a country in the first stages of its growth need not be caused necessarily by the sea. In the New England states this function was performed by mountains and forests, which were inhabited by hostile Indian tribes. Only a hundred years ago there lay in Vermont and Maine a "young" West and North for the old New England states—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. They too, therefore, had the advantage of developing inside narrow boundaries and with a broad horizon. In the same way the mountains of Spain forced the Moors into a few favored regions, and in consequence gave rise to dense populations, large cities, and lasting traces. In Russia, where Islam was spread out over a territory three times as big, a sparse population, small towns, and no monument of any significance are the result.

There are political aims which require only a minimum of space for their achievement. Rome proved that a great empire could grow out of the district of a city, and that it would, therefore, be idle to designate a minimum area for a state. A coal-ing station can be very important, and yet it is always very small. St. Helena is only forty-seven square miles in area, but has great political importance in consequence of its position in the south Atlantic, which is so poor in islands, twelve hundred miles from the African and twenty-two hundred from the South American coast. This importance has belonged to it from the seventeenth century, when it was the main stopping point for the Dutch between Holland and Java, and has only been diminished by the transfer of the East India route to the Suez canal. A trading people, in founding cities and colonies, does not in the beginning aim at territorial possession, but it only wants a base here and there for maritime commerce and the control of the sea. Even the greatest colonies of the present time have developed out of narrow strips of shore, like the half mile along

the rivers and coasts in Sierra Leone to which England, in the absence of rivalry, has limited her expansion only since 1883. The Phœnician and Greek colonial cities sought the spring of political power, not in territory, but in wealth. Founded as they were by emigration, further migration beyond the seas was to them more natural as the last political resource in case of increase of population than expansion over the land. How slight was the bond that held them to the soil is shown by the vast scheme of Bias of Priene to transplant the Greek settlements of Asia Minor to Sardinia in the western Mediterranean. There lies a contrast found throughout universal history in this rapid expansion over a thousand limited areas, all of which taken together could not make one large, enduring state, and the slow, onward, swelling inner colonization of the great powers in the neighboring continents of Africa and Asia.

The matter of area grows still more limited in the case of political possessions which have, as it were, only a symbolic value, and in many cases are no longer to be regarded as political realities. The *loges* or factories which the French have retained according to the treaty of 1787 upon English soil in India, in addition to the five acknowledged remnants of their empire, at Jugdia, Patna, Dakka, Cossimbasar, and elsewhere, have never been made use of by the French in the sense in which the treaty intended—that is, for trade under the French flag; and nevertheless, in spite of all offers on the part of the English, they have never been relinquished. The small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon (area, ninety-one square miles) off the coast of New Foundland hold a similar position, although they are of considerable commercial value.

Phases of development which according to their nature are limited find the most favorable environment in contracted areas. For that primitive stage of political development in which one clan holds itself apart from another and each forms a small community for itself, mountains and forests encourage the inclination toward restriction of territory. But from the open plains, which do not favor this tendency, state-making on a larger scale penetrates into these retreats. The family element in the feeling of nation-

ality is from its nature limited in point of extent, and its development is, therefore, promoted by an isolated environment. The Denmark of the thirteenth century, the Swiss Federation of the fourteenth, and the Netherlands of the sixteenth were far ahead of their great neighbors in point of national self-consciousness. A small people preserves its peculiar character in isolation. The Jews were influenced, to be sure, by the people of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia; but they were few enough in number to retain their distinguishing stamp. Too small to be politically eradicated, they grew up from political weakness to intellectual and spiritual independence. The fate of the Saxons in Siebenbürgen is in its fundamental features and conditions similar.

Even when a tribe has gained possession of a much broader region, still it always tends to restrain efforts directed at more extensive absorption of territory. The growth of the state always becomes in time a struggle with the tendency toward tribal segregation, and the conflicts between national and economic interests are the most unavoidable of all. In this century, notable for the formation of great states, even in western and eastern Europe we have seen states splitting up for reasons of nationality or national religion, but without doubt only temporarily. Higher civilization, to be sure, through the cultivation of the traditions and intellectual treasures stored up in language, causes a sharper separation of peoples, each of which tries to develop that which is most peculiar to itself; but at the same time, civilization creates for them a broader field through commerce and political expansion. Herein lies an antagonistic principle which is working disruptions in every civilized people of the present time, but which seems to be allayed everywhere by the superior influence of greater space, and to this result again trades more than anything else has contributed. The language of a people which enjoys political and economic supremacy forces itself not simply on subjected races. We see this process going on in all directions and on the largest scale in North America, where English has attained a universal sway in intellectual, economic, and political matters. This has been promoted, to be sure, by political conditions, but in general it has developed independently

by reason of the superiority of English civilization. The result is the wholesome condition of parallel growth in expansion of nationality and extension of political sway.

The rapid course of the active life of a people dwelling in a small territory, with its often brilliant features, early leads to old age, and very often to a complete decay of its political importance, ending in a historical disappearance, as in the case of Macedon after its third Roman war, or in that of the Greek states when they were absorbed by Rome. In a narrow area the people become too numerous; they interfere with one another, they irritate, fight, and wear out one another, unless colonization makes more room for them. The city-states are the classic ground of civil strife, which ended in emigration or expulsion. Without imports from other regions, they grow poor from an increase of population out of proportion to their area; with it, they easily grow dependent upon outside countries, and not infrequently is this the case when, through supplies from subject colonies, their own freshness and energy are paralyzed, as a national life, at any rate, is prone to become without the new tasks which belong to large territories. An intellectual impoverishment becomes unavoidable in a contracted mental horizon, even in the midst of apparently inexhaustible wealth. We find this even in the classical literatures which "knew and recognized only themselves" (Saint-Beuve), where the limited range of their imaginations is reflected in the use of the same ever-recurring figures from nature, history, and mythology, and in their adherence to a few models.

In a limited area rulers and peoples change rapidly, early finish the course of their lives. Consider in how many hands Sicily has been, and how the different nationalities have stamped upon it the mark of their presence and deeper influence. In Greece, the way the most widely different tribes crowded in and over one another confuses our understanding of its history, which, also, suffers from an excess of independent phases of development, in part brilliant, but always entirely too limited in point of territorial extent. Everything, on the other hand, which retards the quick rate of these life-processes of nations

keeps a state young. From their very nature the Mediterranean countries had to grow old earlier, just as they were earlier to be settled and to reach their zenith. The damp swamp and forest regions of the North, on the contrary, remained younger so long as they could offer to their inhabitants new fields for expansion.

The purely political effects of a narrow territorial environment long continued are embraced in the term "political provincialism" (*Kleinstaaterci*). No one has analyzed this quality more clearly than Niebuhr where he gives the history of the fall of Achaia: in substance he says that the nation enjoyed prosperity without opportunity for exercising its powers, and that this prosperity gave rise to moral degeneration. Such a condition finds a corrective when smaller states stand in intimate relations with large ones of the same nationality; but when they continue their isolated existences, independent of one another, and have no activity within themselves, all virility and worth necessarily die out, and a wretched local vanity appears. Great states call forth stirring emotions, peculiarly their own, which keep our feelings alive and ourselves busied, while in small states passion wastes itself upon paltry interests.¹

As a concomitant of this dull uniformity of interests among the inhabitants of a confined area we would mention, also, the monotony of aims and activities which tends to drag down to the common level everything preëminent, and wherever possible to obliterate it. The smaller a political territory is, so much the more monotonous is its physical character. Varied land forms, classes of vegetable life, and climatic conditions involve, as a rule, wide areas. In a mountain range, therefore, or a plain, or a forest or prairie region, or in one climatic zone, there are several, or, in the beginning, even numerous political districts which are naturally of the same or like character; just for that reason they have little to exchange with one another, and are not in a position to exert reciprocally much influence. Moreover, the similarity in the resources and employments of the people works toward the same result.

¹ *Vorlesungen über ältere Geschichte*, edited by M. NIEBUHR, 1851, III, p. 523.

From numerous small circles of existence, therefore, there would always result a monotonous totality, capable of only slight variations, even if the social, economic, and political inertia did not become more pronounced with the narrowness of the horizon and their attachment to a soil so limited that it even fails to provide sufficiently for the simplest conditions of an independent life. The success of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor was only passing, because they ignored the smallness of its basis. With the slight exception of Chios and Lesbos, they took no permanent hold upon the mainland, suffered the interior of Asia Minor to loom up before them as a distant world, and in time of political danger sought protection from the mother country; hence their almost quite passive attitude in the midst of great historical events. The principality of Liechtenstein in 1866 fell, so to speak, out of the hands of Germany into those of Austria, without being able to have any voice in the matter one way or the other. Moreover, no necessity was once felt of making her any explanation of this change. Hermann Wagner wrote in 1869: "The principality of Liechtenstein can properly no longer have a place in the group of German states. It is a sort of appendix of the Austrian monarchy, in the dominion of which it lies."¹ The history of the German imperial cities, nay more, of the whole of the old empire, affords similar examples in abundance. Their want of capacity for independence leaves its stamp in these same uncertain relations peculiar to little countries which are under two masters. This passive attitude comes from the consciousness of insufficient means; we find it, also, in medium powers. The neutrality of Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxemburg can be traced back to this cause, as also the withdrawal of many powers from great colonial undertakings. In 1871 the Netherlands gave up their possessions on the coast of Guinea because the unhealthy climate cost them too many men; and they feared the difficulties of wars with the natives, for which they would have had to use the troops intended for the Indies. This resignation forms a marked contrast to the

¹ HERMANN WAGNER, *Der deutsche Zollverein und die Freihafengebiete Deutschlands*, 1869.

contemporaneous tendency toward expansion which is making itself felt on the part of all the larger states of Europe.

The greatest concentration of political forces is reached in cities, for in them space is eliminated out of the list of political obstructions; hence they show, with stormy adjustment of internal differences, the most rapid development to centers of power, towering far above the wide domain beneath them. The phases of intellectual progress which find their best conditions in the closely associated activities of many people are characteristic of such foci in particular. The transition from the mythological to the scientific age—an epoch in the history of mankind—was accomplished first in small Greek colonial towns, thriving by their trade on new soil, and with limited space. Commerce, which, according to its nature, promotes the development of such places of preëminence or seeks its support in them, favors this early maturity, depositing in it at the same time the never-failing seeds of decay. So long as there have been great cities, they have outstripped their countries in good and evil. The rôle of Paris in the history of revolutions is nothing new. To be sure, the quick tempo of political changes in France was due in part to the national character, but also in part to the lack of the obstructions afforded by mere distance in the twenty-nine square miles of the capital, Paris. A great number of the famous Italian and German trading towns of the Middle Ages, with the expansion of their commerce, rapidly attained the size and population at which they then remained for five hundred years. Lübeck grew with the rapidity of a New York or Chicago. After Henry the Lion had changed it from a provincial town of Holstein to the chief port of his duchy, it stood for a hundred years at the top of the North German cities, and only all-powerful Cologne could be compared with it. In regard to the Hanse towns, Dietrich Schäfer advances the supposition that, in the first century after they were founded, in most cases they already embraced the area which they then retained, till in the present time the totally different phenomenon of the universal growth of population brought to them also an increase. We can, therefore, speak of a development centuries ahead of its time. And

what is particularly noteworthy in the matter, the towns of the Baltic most favored in geographical position, Stettin, Danzig, and Königsberg, advanced in that first growth more slowly; only, however, to stop the process later and to resume it again earlier. In the first half of the fourteenth century the largest cities of the Baltic at that time, Lübeck and Danzig, may be estimated to have had forty thousand inhabitants each.¹ We must imagine the rapid development of the great cities of antiquity on this order. Australia affords the best examples of the kind in present times, for there the peripheral character of all colonial development is accentuated by the nature of the country, which concentrates all the productive industries on anything like a large scale, especially the cultivation of wheat and sugar cane, also sheep raising and gold mining, in effect upon a narrow strip of coast averaging about one hundred and eighty-five miles in breadth. Hence we find cities like Sydney, with 383,000, and Melbourne, with 491,000 inhabitants (1891), whose magnificence forms a sharp contrast to the barrenness and monotony of the rural districts, with their mere beginnings of civilization. The hypertrophic development of the young city of Brisbane (1891, population 94,000) makes itself felt in the separatist tendency of North Queensland, as in the influence of social parties upon the course of politics in New South Wales and Victoria.

The concentration of all political organization in the city arose first out of a matter of space, namely, out of the difficulty of exercising control over wide areas. It is to be found in the Mediterranean more than anywhere else—among Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, and later among the Italians, for, as Freeman says, mediæval Italy with its city-states is “a living repetition of the political history of ancient Greece.” This fact is intimately connected with the character of the country, where the moisture and fertile soil are scattered, often only oasis-like here and there, so that the settlements in general are less numerous than elsewhere, less evenly distributed, though in individual cases larger and more like cities. In consequence, the cities attach them-

¹ See the criticism of these figures in SCHÄFER'S *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 219 *et seq.*

selves more closely to one another, and also to the soil and the coast, and then only upon the sea do they find the expansion and increase of wealth which the nature of the land denied them.

Narrow territories bring into the foreground the question of land, or, in other words, the question of space, in consequence of attention's being unavoidably directed to the relation of area to population. The question arises early, therefore, on islands and in other confined regions. They soon lead either to emigration—voluntary or compulsory—and colonization, for which little Thera, as founder of Cyrene, is typical; or to resistance to unfair division of the land, as in the case of England, where, as early as the sixteenth century, protest was made against the conversion of the commons into inclosed pastures; or finally to the restriction of the natural increase of population. Malthus, in his *Essay on Population*, calls attention to the prevalence among island peoples of customs designed to act as a check to such increase. Moreover, it is not an accident that the book which treated this phenomenon as a scientific problem appeared in an island country; there even today we meet such facts as that the Scotch islands all taken together constitute the single larger region in Scotland where the number of the inhabitants has diminished. All the evils of a redundant population appear in accentuated form in contracted areas, and especially the fundamental evil, the low value put upon human life, which leads to all kinds of desolation; for this the islands of Polynesia and Melanesia afford numerous examples. While in big countries, and particularly in colonies, the increased value of every human being promotes political freedom, there it is hampered by the depreciated value of the masses. All checks to increase of population have an incalculably far-reaching effect; they prevent any influx of men and capital, and, by invading the natural course of increase, injure the health and morality of the community, and, in general, place the future of the people on too narrow a basis. This isolation, however, from the nature of things, cannot be lasting, and as soon as it is broken through, the people, whose progress has been arrested, are exposed in consequence

to the greatest, oftentimes most violent, changes. The rapid disappearance of the Guiana Indians, Caribs, and Tasmanians illustrates the extreme effect of this. The population of the Libyan oases¹ is on the road to the same end; as the increase is artificially checked, the negro threatens to become the dominant element, causing a substitution of race such as has already taken place in Jamaica and other small islands of the West Indies, or, in times for us prehistoric, upon the islands of Melanesia form the spread of settlers from Polynesia and Micronesia.²

FRIEDRICH RATZEL.

(Translated by Ellen C. Semple.)

¹ G. ROHLFS, in the *Geographische Mitteilungen*, p. 447, 1860: "The importation of negroes goes on continually; and since neither the Berbers nor Arabs receive new white elements, as was formerly the case, through Christian slaves, it can easily be foreseen that in a given time, conditions remaining the same, Berbers and Arabs will be absorbed by the black population."

² Chapters I and II in this series appeared in this JOURNAL, November, 1897 and January, 1898.

SEMINAR NOTES.

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM DIVISION I. THE SOURCES AND USES OF MATERIAL.

PART IV. THE LOGIC OF THE SYSTEMATIZING SOCIAL SCIENCES.

CHAPTER V.¹

FURTHER FORMULATION OF ELEMENTS OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

The social problem involves—

(a) *Discovery of the general laws of interrelationship between human individuals and human institutions.* The same conception may be put in alternative form thus: The social problem involves—

(b) *Generalization of the conditions of social order and social progress ;* or, once more, the social problem involves—

(c) *Formulation of the reactions of social forces in their most general forms.* In order to solve the social problem we must be able—

(d) *To describe and classify and formulate the changes wrought in persons and in societies by the different elements of human experience.* The ultimate aim of this search is knowledge about social relations which will guide effort toward the further changes which civilized men may desire to effect.² To indicate the presumptions, or rather the conclu-

¹ The subjects omitted for the present are: Part III, *The Logic of the Genetic Sciences of Society*: chap. 1, "Philology;" chap. 2, "History;" chap. 3, "The Relation of the Social Problem to the Philosophy of History;" chap. 4, "Anthropology;" chap. 5, "Ethnology;" chap. 6, "Folk-Psychology;" chap. 7, "Demography;" chap. 8, "Statistics;" chap. 9, "Analysis of Contemporary Institutions and Conditions." Part IV, *The Logic of the Systematizing Social Sciences*: chap. 1, "Philosophy of History;" chap. 2, "Political Economy;" chap. 3, "Political Science;" chap. 4, "Ethics;" chap. 5, above.

² *Vide* VINCENT, "Province of Sociology," *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, January, 1896; SPENCER, *Study of Sociology*, chap. 3; BERNÉS, *Revue internationale de sociologie*, December, 1895.

sions, from which the sociologists proceed, it is necessary to refer again, in brief, to the different lines of investigation which have for their subject-matter—

- (a) The physical environment of society.
- (b) The human individual.

In the first place, this organization of social research presupposes the accumulated results of the physical and biological sciences, so far as these interpret the objective world in which men have to work out their destiny.

In the second place, the sociologist presupposes the physiological, anthropological, and psychological research which analyzes human characteristics as exhibited in the individual. In addition to these, or perhaps properly as a subdivision of the psychological analysis, the sociologists must derive their immediate data with reference to the individual from psycho-ethical generalizations of motives betrayed in human actions. By this I mean that before science that is properly *social* begins, as distinct from science that is concerned solely with the individual, analysis of individual traits must have taken into account all the peculiarities of individual action which betray the individual impulses or springs of individual action, which are the units of force with which social science must deal. The most useful generalization of individual characteristics that can be cited in this connection is suggested in Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 173, 177. In a word, the human individual is a center of energy to which we give the general name of *desire*. Individual desire, at a given moment, is compounded of the following elements: desire for (a) *health*, (b) *wealth*, (c) *sociability*, (d) *knowledge*, (e) *beauty*, (f) *righteousness*.

For the purposes of the sociologist, the human individual may be considered (1) as having his habitat in the environment which the physical sciences define; (2) as exerting his peculiar reaction upon the environment, physical and human, through the operation of these desires. It need only be noticed in passing that the total of these elements of energy, in individuals, may vary greatly from time to time, and that the ratios of the different forms of the energy (a)-(f) may be incalculably diverse. The direction and force of the reaction of the individual upon his surroundings depend both upon the total energy of combined desires and upon the assortment of desires comprising the total.

On the other hand, the interpretation of our general formula ((a),

p. 380) depends upon our view of "institutions." The term "institutions" covers *recognized and sanctioned forms of human conduct*. Thus institutions include—

1. *Forms of thought* (mythology, folk-lore, superstitions).
2. *Forms of expression* (gesture, language, ceremonial, art).
3. *Forms of personal action* (methods of hunting, fishing, tillage, neighborhood intercourse).
4. *Forms of coöperation* (in worship, war, industry, government).

Institutions are, therefore, as concerns the nature of their sanctions, (a) *customary*, (b) *contractual*, (c) *prescriptive*. There is no single classification of institutions which will serve as a constantly satisfactory analysis. For our present purpose we may adopt, by way of illustration, De Greef's classification of *phenomena* as a tentative classification of *institutions*.

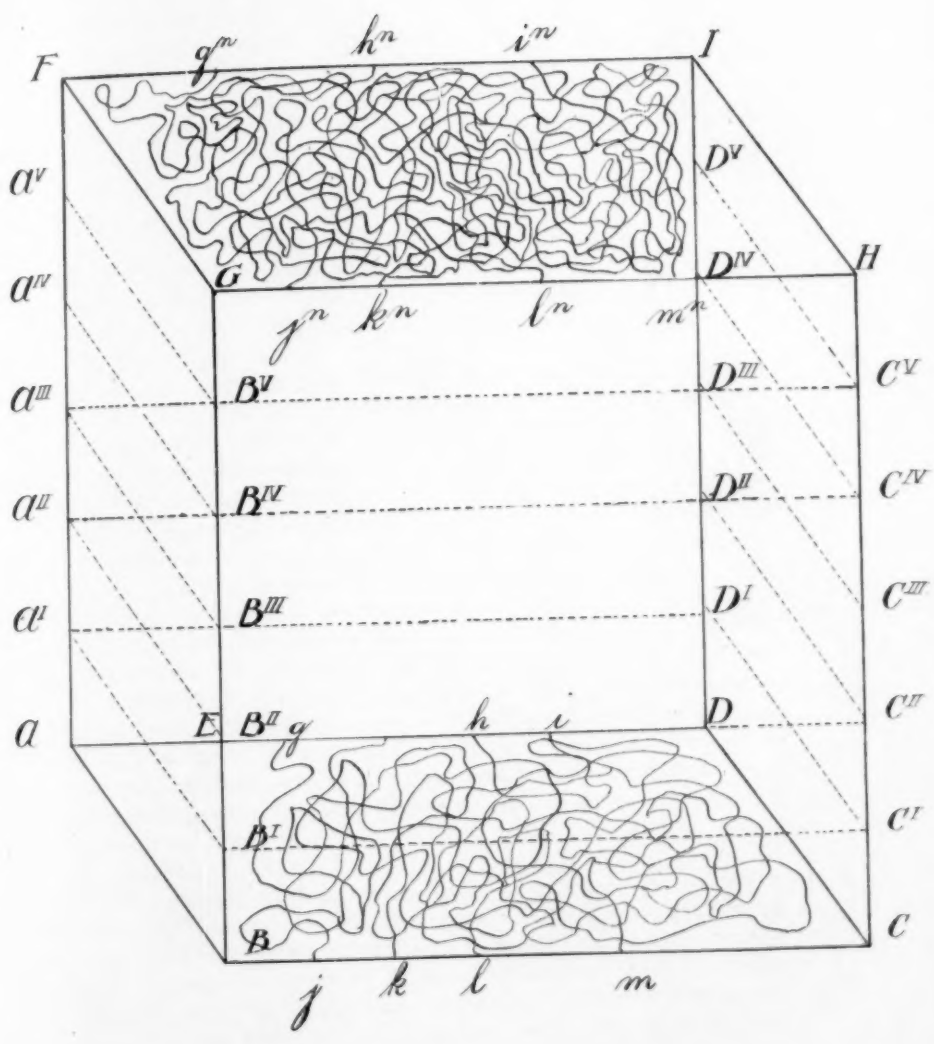
Let us represent institutions in general by the letters *g, h, i, j, k, l, m*, denoting the several columns in the De Greef chart (above, p. 139), starting on the left. Now we may repeat in more specific terms our original thesis about the implications of the social problem, viz.: The social problem involves the task:

(e) *Of discovering the general laws of interrelationship between the individual element in society, represented in terms of desire by the product a b c d e f, and the institutional element, represented collectively by the product g h i j k l m.*

This general task of sociology may be represented graphically as follows (see opposite page).

That is, we may suppose the cube whose base is *A B C D* to represent the total experience of the human race. The base represents contemporary human activities at the initial period of their existence. Each plane parallel with the base represents a "civilization," *i. e.*, the plexus of human activities filling up a period. The irregular lines traversing these planes (from each of the letters *g, h, i, j, k, l, m*) denote departments of activity. Each activity (as symbolized by the line *g*) becomes more involved in successive planes up to that which represents the latest stage of civilization (*F G H I*). The points which constitute these lines make parts of several of the lines at more than one point. These points may symbolize the individuals carrying on the activities. Having this figure in mind, we may further vary the first formula of this chapter thus:

(f) *The social problem is the problem of knowing the laws of the forces whose resultants appear both in the plexus of motions represented in the*



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lines of a given plane, and also in the variations that ensue in the passage from plane to plane.

The social problem is, accordingly, the problem of knowledge which all the social sciences must together collect and organize. The social sciences have for their common task, then —

(g) *Discovery of the laws of reciprocal influence between individuals and institutions.* This discovery must be sought through investigations of such reactions both in selected eras—prehistoric, ancient, mediæval, modern, contemporary—and in *successive* civilizations; *i. e.*, it must be both statical and dynamical. No single section of this study can be complete in itself. In order to justify generalizations, there is need of a distinct department of social investigation whose function shall be to combine the results of all related investigations.

Throughout men's study of human association, distinguished from all the studies of individual characteristics, men have been pursuing the quest of relationships between the individual and institutions within the conditioning environment. This generalized statement of the object of search may or may not have been adopted in any particular instance. Species or specimens alone of these reactions may have absorbed attention at particular times. Comparatively restricted groups only may have been carefully investigated. All the study that men have given to phenomena of association falls partly, however, under this description. We have at length developed a distinct consciousness that this knowledge of the relations of the individual to institutions is a scientific desideratum. With this consciousness we are aware that there has been a vast amount of study of portions of the phenomena included under this general formula. We see that this study has been pursued with the use of categories differing widely in their appropriateness and precision. (*E. g.*, we use the unequally precise terms "economic," "social," "political," "ethical," "historic," phenomena.)

We are thus sharpening the scientific perception that we now need, first of all, adequate objective description and classification of reactions between individuals and institutions. Such descriptions and classifications we have, to a certain amount and extent, with partial interpretation, as, *e. g.*, in the case of large sections of industrial phenomena. Here cause and effect in the play of the wealth desire are made to do most of the interpreting. Whether the interpretations are final, remains to be seen. We are discovering further, however, that most

of the reactions between individuals and institutions have been very imperfectly observed; that there are important phases of phenomena which have been virtually overlooked; and, consequently, that the interpretations derived from partial observation and imperfect coordination of facts must be considered as, at best, provisional, until there has been further investigation and correlation of reciprocally modifying social reactions. In view of all this, progressive solution of the present social problem clearly requires—

1. Extension of the method of positive observation to all classes of societary phenomena which have not been adequately observed.

2. Discovery of the relations between such of these phenomena as have been abstractly interpreted, *i. e.*, in abstraction from the containing reality.

3. Extension of the method of abstract interpretation to other homogeneous groups and other series of phenomena.

4. The highest possible generalizations of societary facts, by qualitative or quantitative explanation of all reactions between individuals and groups, which can be seen to fix or to modify either individual or social types.

This study of reactions in general, between individuals and institutions, has never been distinctly proposed till the sociologists began to organize the study. Certain aspects of it have been studied ever since men began to think; *e. g.*, the reactions between rulers and ruled. Other aspects or abstractions have been made the subject-matter of very advanced and developed sciences (*e. g.*, economics), but, as we see if we use the figure (opposite p. 382) in connection with the De Greef chart (p. 139), these are but fragments of the whole subject, and until they are thought in connection with the whole, they must necessarily be very incomplete. As a challenge for criticism I offer, therefore, this thesis:

History, up to date, has not so much as intelligently attempted to map out the field of investigation in which we must discover the classes of knowledge that above diagram shows to be needed as a condition of understanding the experience of men in society.

During the last century the historians have learned wonderfully *how to do it*, but they have incidentally unlearned *what to do*. They have found a *method*, but meanwhile have lost their *problem*. That is to say, if we let fall a line from the plane *F G H I* to the plane *A B C D*—say from *Mⁿ* to *M* (political institutions)—we shall have

a relatively fair indication of the breadth of view which certain groups of historians have taken. If we draw similar lines connecting other phenomena or institutions in the different strata of human experience, as from G^n to G , etc., they will fairly indicate the breadth of view taken by other historians. There has thus far been no adequate programme for covering the ground of human experience in such a way that knowledge necessary for large generalizations is accessible.¹ A substantially similar claim is to be made with reference to each of the other search-sciences of society.

This claim must be tested in the case of history by critical analyses of the tasks which representative historians propose, and by classification of the results which they obtain. This test should answer the following questions:

1. Does the author make distinct provision for treating all the institutions shown by the De Greef schedule to be concerned?
2. In so far as the author contemplates treatment of all, or any, of these divisions of activity, does he apparently give them proportional attention?
3. Does the author give evidence of such exhaustive examination of these institutions separately that his conclusions are credible about the actual balance of influence that shaped events in the period treated?
4. What *explanations* apparently account for deficiencies under above heads?
5. What further discrepancies between historical programmes and the demands of sociological method does the author illustrate?

PART V. THE LOGIC OF SOCIOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY.

It is not the present purpose to make a definition of sociology that shall precisely differentiate it from the other kinds of dealing with the social problem which we have discussed. Nor are we now concerned with the chronological relations of the sociologists' invasion of the field of social inquiry, but rather with its logical significance.

¹ On the function of history from the psychologists' point of view, *vide* MÜNSTERBERG, in *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1898, pp. 605 and 611.

While researches of the orders already discussed were becoming more and more scientific, men who called themselves sociologists (after the time of Comte) began to make themselves heard. To this day they have not agreed among themselves as to their mission, and, naturally enough, they have not succeeded in convincing other scholars that they have a mission. They have nevertheless persisted in declaring that the older sciences do not take up all the unknown factors of the problem of knowledge about society. Their insistence has been very much like a groping in the dark to get hold of a body whose presence is felt, which, however, can be neither described nor located. Sometimes the sociologists have declared that their subject-matter is entirely distinct from that of the other investigators of society; sometimes they have said that it is the same subject-matter viewed in other lights; sometimes they have said that their quest is for "principles" antecedent to the things observed by the traditional social sciences; sometimes they have protested that their vocation is in generalizing the conclusions of the older forms of research. Through all this vagueness and uncertainty, definiteness and precision have been emerging.

On the one hand, it is becoming evident that there are no primary facts about human beings, whether in their individuality or in association, certain aspects of which may not fall within the claim staked out by one or more of the social sciences. On the other hand, it is evident, *first*, that the social sciences, previous to the advent of the sociologists, had not given due attention to the primary facts of certain kinds, *e. g.*, those now gathered by demography, folk-psychology, and mass-psychology. It is evident, *second*, that the social sciences, before the time of the sociologists, had either generalized relationships among associated people from very insufficient evidence, as in the traditional philosophies of history; or they had narrowed their generalizations to formulas of relationships within an abstracted stratum of social activity, as in pure economics. Accordingly, it is obvious to men who have kept informed about the methodology of social inquiry that new processes must be invented to work these neglected fields. Such processes are, in fact, rapidly developing; and it is plain, too, that the knowledge already acquired about the habits of men in association is capable of generalization in more meaning terms than the special sciences of humanity have learned how to use. In other words, we have learned and are still learning, for example:

- (a) Laws of purely *personal* association.
- (b) Laws of tribal or *racial* association.

- (c) Laws of *industrial* association.
- (d) Laws of *political* association.
- (e) Laws of *confessional* association.
- (f) Laws of *fortuitous* association (crowds), etc., etc.

All these are probably parts of more inclusive laws of *association*. The sociologists are gradually tending to the perception that here is a problem near at hand, viz., *to make out the most general laws of human association*.

The discovery of this problem at once settles some of the previous controversies. It is clear to all sociologists who understand the requirements of positive science that the general must be found in the special. It is not something that exists outside of the particulars. In other words, the search-sciences about society are the immediate sources from which material for generalization of the laws of association must be drawn. If those search-sciences have not yet done their work well, they must be called upon for better work; but their primary function is obvious, viz., discovery and preliminary arrangement of the data. The task of finding larger truths than the search-sciences have reached about the laws of association requires the construction of new categories, and such arrangement of knowledge brought in and primarily organized by the search-sciences that the categories will be properly filled out.

Instead of arguing from *a priori* principles how these categories shall be arranged, it will serve the immediate purpose better to cite tentative categories that have been proposed, and to point out that they have served to clarify sociologists' conceptions of the task to be undertaken. We may pass directly to Herbert Spencer. Without criticising the process by which Spencer reached his categories, and without attempting to decide how much of his whole system is speculative and how much genuinely inductive, we may start with the fact that, as the case lies in Mr. Spencer's own mind, he has taken into view, by title at least, all the elementary facts that occur in human life. He has a place for each of these facts, in his scheme of sociological classification, regardless of whether they are originally discovered by anthropology, or history, or philology, or economics, or whatever.

In *Principles of Sociology*, Mr. Spencer distinguishes certain great groups, in which he marshals these facts from all sources. These groups of evidence are:

- Part I. The *Data* of Sociology (which prove to be no more and no less *data* than the evidence in the following groups):

Part III. Domestic Institutions.

Part IV. Ceremonial Institutions.

Part V. Political Institutions.

Part VI. Ecclesiastical Institutions.

Part VII. Professional Institutions.

Part VIII. Industrial Institutions.

(*Cf.* De Greef's groups in the chart, p. 139.)

In the above groups, Mr. Spencer supposes himself to have included, in form, all the essential evidence about human reactions. This is the evidence out of which sociological formulas must be constructed. Whether Spencer worked inductively is not worth inquiring at this point. At all events he concludes, whether before or after hearing the evidence we will not ask, that the same general law of evolution which he finds in the sphere of physics and biology persists in human association.

This general formula of evolution is in the now famous proposition:

"Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." (*First Principles*, § 145.)

Mr. Spencer believes that the variations in types of correlation among human beings are in accordance with this formula. The kinds of evidence classified in above groups, or completing such a schedule as that of De Greef, must test the belief. Mr. Spencer's fundamental organization of the evidence is contained in part in *The Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, Part II, entitled, "The Inductions of Sociology." Whether we attach great value to these inductions or not, they at least serve to illustrate the perception that there are *general forms of relationship between persons* which other researches have dealt with in particular manifestations; which, however, have never been thoroughly examined, either analytically or comparatively. These inductions are scheduled under the titles:

- I. What is a Society?
- II. A Society is an Organism.
- III. Social Growth.
- IV. Social Structures.
- V. Social Functions.
- VI. Systems of Organs.

- VII. The Sustaining System.
- VIII. The Distributing System.
- IX. The Regulating System.
- X. Social Types and Constitutions.
- XI. Social Metamorphoses.
- XII. Qualifications and Summary.

In all this, conceptions are exploited which call for a different order of generalization from that which is peculiar to any search-science about society. The idea of social "type," for example, refers not merely to a *political* type, nor to an *ecclesiastical* type, but to a *correlation of persons*, for whatever chief purpose; *i. e.*, to *type generally*, not specifically. It leads to the perception that there are forms of correlations of persons, produced by large varieties of motive, yet manifesting similarities and possibly samenesses of structure and process. The biological coloring in Spencer's terms may be a mere accident of immature thought. It is not essential. It marks a stage in the endeavor to express the problems of social correlation which the sociologists are trying to define. Since Spencer wrote, the sociologists have made their expressions of their problem still more definite.

In general, we may conclude about the present outlook of the sociologists as follows:

All the kinds of knowledge which have been discussed thus far in this course may be considered as one body of facts, discovered by different processes, and analyzed and classified so as to keep its distinct phases as clear as possible. When knowledge about people is considered thus as a whole—these facts set in order by ethnology, history, philology, and the other "sciences" of human products—it constitutes a stage of knowledge which I prefer to designate collectively by the term **descriptive sociology**. Without making definitions, I offer the following outline of different stages in the process of organizing and interpreting the raw material of knowledge about society. This outline will help to distinguish subsequent stages of interpretation.

1. **Descriptive sociology**¹ sets in order the *forms* in which societal contacts occur. Descriptive sociology has to recast, if necessary, and so far as necessary, the material which is collected at first hand by other stages of the scientific process (history, ethnology, etc.), so that these common forms will appear in the discrete facts. The antecedent social

¹Against the use of this term *vide* WARD, "Static and Dynamic Sociology," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 2; and in favor of it, SMALL, same title, *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, September, 1895, and May, 1898, p. 857.

sciences are thus, so to speak, partial products, or trial divisors, to be calculated into the more general formulas of descriptive sociology.

The still unfamiliar concept "*social forms*" may become clearer by reflection on an unclassified and uncriticised *list* of the most obvious of them. This list has no reference to the relative importance or generality of the forms named. Regardless of the relationships which may be made out between these forms (as of genus and species), they are named as illustrations. Most of them are suggested by Simmel (*Annals of the American Academy*, December, 1895, pp. 57, 62, etc.):

(1) Secrecy (secret societies); (2) authority; (3) subordination (personal); (4) equality; (5) control (by the group), and (6) conformity (on the part of individuals, without subordination to other persons individually); (7) competition; (8) imitation; (9) opposition; (10) division of labor; (11) hierarchies; (12) parties; (13) interaction and stratification of groups; (14) manifold reactions against external influences; (15) agency and clientage; (16) dealer and customer; (17) spokesman and constituent (not involving authority); (18) representation (with authority); (19) *primus inter pares* (perhaps resolvable into (17)); (20) *tertius gaudens* (the non-partisan, sometimes).²

The best of Herbert Spencer's work consists in making out social types, though he would not say so. One of Dr. Simmel's pupils (Thon) defines sociology thus: "Sociology is the science of (a) the *forms* and (b) the *psychical motivation* of human association."³

This necessitates study of the *psychical forces*, working through the forms. Even Dr. Simmel, who emphasizes (a) as the sole province of sociology, sees more to reward research in (b). He simply does not want the name "sociology" to cover more than (a). Without taking up the question of nomenclature, we may be certain that the social problem involves study of (b). It has been pursued under two categories, "static" and "dynamic," as follows:

2. **Static (sociology) interpretation** deals with the laws of coexistence among social forces.³

3. **Dynamic (sociology) interpretation** deals with the laws of serial relationships among social forces.⁴ Quite likely we shall presently

²The most elaborate treatment of a typical form is SIMMEL, "Superiority and Subordination as Subject-Matter of Sociology," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, September and November, 1896.

³AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, January, 1897, p. 570.

⁴Vide WARD, *Dynamic Sociology*, first edition, I, pp. 81 and 127-8.

⁵Vide WARD and SMALL on "Static and Dynamic Sociology," *loc. cit.*

agree that the real problems in this department of knowledge concern the laws of variants only; the law of constants emerging in the previous inquiry.

The present condition of systematic thinking upon the social problem is this :

A. We have so clearly discerned the need of more detailed and more authentic knowledge that enormous demands are made upon the search-sciences for more of the sort of evidence which their processes must supply.

B. The thesis of *Simmel*, that sociology must be the science of social *forms*, has at least this effect upon the present stage of correlation, viz., it makes us conscious that we have no adequate schedule of the "forms" of social life.¹

C. That being the case, we obviously cannot have adequate analyses of the *laws* of those forms.

D. The perception is spreading that the study of society up to date has accumulated merely an unclassified catalogue of social influences; that our knowledge of these influences is, at the most, only qualitative, not quantitative; that we have tentatively generalized many of these influences, both statically and dynamically; but that our formulations of them must be highly questionable until our schedules and classifications of social forms are more complete and critical.

E. There are, therefore, the following kinds of work to be done upon the fundamental social problem :

1. Further collection and primary analyses of elementary material.
2. Generalization of this material into a hierarchy of the *forms of associated life*. If *Simmel* has not been the path-breaker in this part of the work, he has surely given precision to the formulation of the task, and has offered the most exact specimens of work upon it. His sort of criticism may give value to *Spencer's* material (*vide* pp. 388-9, above), which it does not at present possess.
3. Extension and criticism of the catalogue of *qualitative* social forces, both static and dynamic. Here are to be tested all the special and general hypotheses in social psychology (*Durkheim*, *Giddings*, *Jhering*, *Ross*, *Tarde*, *Vaccaro*, *Ward*, *et al.*).
4. Teleological construction, on the basis of our inevitable valuations, and such tentative generalizations as may from time to time be adopted.

¹ *Vide* THON, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, January, 1897, pp. 568, 570.

5. Technological invention and adaptation, *i. e.*, applied sociology, or social economics in the largest sense; social control on the basis of systematized knowledge of social elements.

Before passing to more special divisions of methodology, it may be well to notice a frequent objection to this whole plan of investigation. Self-confident critics affect to dispose of the sociological programme which we have outlined (especially pp. 114, 132, 167-9) with the summary judgment that the problem is preposterous, the solution impossible, and the method useless.

In reply we modestly insist that, if the verdict holds, it necessarily condemns all study of society that tries to reach valid generalizations, and it consequently dooms us to choose between wholesale credulity and utter agnosticism about efficient social forces. We cannot argue with the man who declares that social forces are beyond human formulation. On the other hand, no man who assumes that social forces may sometime be formulated can justify a less comprehensive survey of their operation than this syllabus proposes. Anything less inclusive is an abstraction. It is not the whole, but a selected part. Formulation of the facts about the part cannot be complete and conclusive. They must be placed in their relations with the whole.

Proposal of such a general plan of social research is sometimes characterized as over-ambitious and chimerical. It should rather be said that general propositions about social laws, if not authorized by such survey as we have indicated, are merely irresponsible guesses. If we are confined to them for social guidance, our wisdom is sententious ignorance. Instead of over-ambition, insistence that there can be no credible generalizations of social laws until they are derived from comprehensive criticism of social relations is rather the humility of intelligent scholarship.

The world will be full of glib social doctrinaires so long as partialists can get credit for wisdom about society. The pedantry that prefers to be satisfied with a narrow generalization, rather than risk testing it by reference to a wider range of relations, affects lofty disapproval of the larger inquiries which genuine scientific curiosity pursues. These extensions of search forthwith discredit previous formulas. They rouse suspicion that accepted versions of special relations are provincial and premature. They impeach dogmatic authority. They concede that prevalent notions covering the questions to be investigated are unsanctioned and unreliable. They

advertise the purpose of holding all judgments about partially known relations as provisional until all the available evidence is collected and weighed, and until the relations in question can be correlated with all the cooperating factors. This admission that we are at the beginning of accurate knowledge about society rebukes the self-esteem of men who have made no close investigation of any portion of social reality, but who wish to be heard as social oracles. It tends to set a just appraisal upon men who have worked out minute fragments of knowledge and want these parts to be accepted as final for the whole. In other words, calm analysis of the processes involved in acquiring authentic and coherent knowledge of the essentials of human association exposes, on the one hand, popular ignorance jealous of implications that knowledge is lacking, and, on the other hand, pedantry and scholism posing as scholarship. Every person with an *a priori* theory or programme about society; every person who wants to divide up the facts of human experience into convenient little blocks of toy knowledge with which he may play science; every person who wants to pretend that he understands the laws of influences in society, resents the connotations of our method. It means that we know comparatively little about society as yet, and that it will take long, hard, combined labor, by many searchers and organizers working within sight of each other, to get social facts into such shape that they will tell us much general truth.

The most energetic and contemptuous criticisms of the methodology we are developing come from men who want to preach social doctrines, and who instinctively know that doctrines of the degree of generality which they wish to promulgate have no present sanction but dogmatism. Hence they wish to be at liberty to dogmatize, and are jealous of methodology that exposes the poverty of evidence behind their dogmatizings. Every man who wants to pretend that we know more about society than we do, objects to the exhibit which our analysis makes of the considerations involved in knowledge of society.

On the other hand, the men who yield to the discipline of a genuinely scientific method frankly admit that we have as yet relatively little sociological knowledge which deserves to be dignified as "science." We have a vast range of unsolved problems, all visibly composing a comprehensive social and sociological problem. The perception that these problems exist, and that they demand solution, need not make Hamlets of the sociologists while solutions are in abeyance. On the contrary, clear perception of the intricacies and

difficulties of the social problem prompts sociologists to do the best they know in the way of immediate social action; if for no other reason, because it is the best available substitute for scientific experiment.¹

Meanwhile it is puerile to reject a method indicated by the implications of a complex problem on the ground that it is complex. If it were less complex it would not satisfy the conditions of the problem. We cannot teach a boy in the grammar school to calculate the next eclipse with nothing but the rule of three. No more can we work out real formulas of social forces in terms less complex than the factors actually involved. Hence the alternative, either persistent parade of mock knowledge, or consent to go about the quest of real knowledge in the only way in which it can be found.

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¹"The Sociologists' Point of View," *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, September, 1897, pp. 153-5.

REVIEWS.

Les Lois Sociales. Esquisse d'une sociologie. Par G. TARDE.
Paris: Félix Alcan, 1898. Pp. 172.

M. TARDE has presented in this little volume the substance of a course of lectures delivered at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales, October, 1897. The book is an epitome of the three principal books on sociology previously published by the same author, viz.: *Les Lois de l'imitation*, *L'Opposition universelle*, and *La Logique sociale*. It is also an attempt to show the relation which, in the author's own view, exists between the three books.

Whatever may be M. Tarde's permanent place in sociological theory, he is certainly a very prominent, perhaps the most prominent, figure just at present among the founders of the new science. All sociologists will accordingly welcome this brief résumé of his views.

The fundamental methodological conception of Tarde's system is that science is consideration of reality under three aspects, *i. e.*, the *repetitions*, the *oppositions*, and the *adaptations* with which the given portion of reality is concerned. Scientific discovery involves detection of these *repetitions*, *oppositions*, and *adaptations* in spite of the variations, "dissymmetries," and "disharmonies" by which they are concealed (p. 10). Tracing out cause and effect is not the whole of science. If it were, pragmatic history would be the most perfect specimen of science. In addition to *causes*, we need to know the *laws* of phenomena. Hence science has to use the three keys named, to discover the laws of repetition, of opposition, of adaptation (p. 11).

These considerations indicate what sociology must do in order to deserve the name "science" (p. 13). Hence M. Tarde entitles the three chapters which make up the body of the book: chap. 1, "The Repetition of Phenomena;" chap. 2, "The Opposition of Phenomena;" chap. 3, "The Adaptation of Phenomena." Starting with astronomy as an illustration, the author reaffirms (p. 18) that science always deals with similarities and repetitions, and that its progress is always an advance from obvious and extensive manifestations of these aspects to their hidden and microscopic forms. Passing from illustrations to

the science of society, Tarde declares (p. 24) that, if we consider a town, a crowd, an army, instead of the objects studied by astronomy or biology, the same scientific relations will appear, *i. e.*, our knowledge passes from premature generalities, founded on vain and illusory analogies, to generalizations based on a mass of minute facts relatively precise and similar.

Sociology has been struggling long toward possession of such material in its own sphere. Tarde asserts that the vain efforts of Plato, Aristotle, Vico, Montesquieu, Chateaubriand, Hegel, and the recent evolutionists failed because they could not get their vision trained on sufficiently minute facts. A change promising better results came in with the attempts of the philologists, the philosophers of religion, and especially the economists, to perform the more modest task of identifying minute facts and of formulating their laws. In perfect accord with the view which this JOURNAL has editorially maintained, Tarde speaks of "these specialists in sociology" (p. 26). It is these searchers among the constituent facts of human activity who get out the raw material of sociology. No sociological generalizations can be worth considering, unless they are generalizations of the data furnished by these "specialists in sociology." Tarde next attends to the claim that the explanation of all the facts brought to notice by the "specialists in sociology" must be *applied psychology*. Referring to the argument to this effect at the close of Mill's *Logic*, he points out that the psychology to which Mill looked for the key to social phenomena was merely individual psychology; "a sort of English associationalism, magnified and exteriorized." On the contrary, says Tarde, our explanations of social facts will come, not from *intra-cerebral*, but from *inter-cerebral* psychology (p. 28). "The contact of one mind with another is an event entirely distinct in the life of each. It is sharply separated from the totality of their contacts with the rest of the universe, and it produces the most unforeseen states of consciousness, states inexplicable by physiological psychology."

Tarde finds in the facts of association this initial problem: "Many minds, impelled each by its own desires, fix upon the same objects, affirm the same idea, try to bring to pass the same thing. In other words, they act as though they were moved by a common impulse. They become practically a unified force producing types and qualities of associated activity. How is this convergence to be explained?" In a word, says Tarde (p. 35), not by heredity, nor by identity of geographical environment, but by "*suggestion-imitation*." "Organic

needs, spiritual tendencies, exist in us at first only as realizable virtualities under the most diverse forms, in spite of their vague primordial similarity. Among these possible realizations it is the imitated indication of a first initiator which determines the choice of one rather than another." Accordingly Tarde holds (p. 41) that this fact of imitation is the pass-key to the social mystery. It will furnish the formulas which will reduce the apparent chaos of history and of human life to orderly expression.

Tarde's weakness is just at this point. The play of imitation in human affairs is beyond question. But that imitation tells the whole story is preposterous. Tarde's theory claims to account for the incessant appearance of variation in men's ideas, feelings, and actions; but the claim is unfounded. He assumes "élite initiators" at the beginning of the social process, but he asserts that after this initial moment all the members of society are mere imitators. I suppose he would say that the first soldiers who used powder and shot, instead of pikes and arrows, simply imitated former soldiers in using *weapons*; the increased effectiveness of the weapons does not count. The inventors of armor-clad vessels imitated all the sea fighters in *protecting themselves* against other sea fighters. The means employed are merely imitative combinations of previous elements, etc., etc.¹ No one will be satisfied a great while with this stretching of the truth.

The effect of M. Tarde's second chapter, "Opposition of Phenomena," upon my mind, is to impeach, rather than to confirm, his main thesis. Tarde divides oppositions in human societies into the three chief forms of war, competition, and disputation. His contention is, first, that each of two opposing social factors is itself the terminus of a "radius of imitation;" second, that the opposition between these factors is merely a mediary affair, destined to disappear in the eventual adaptation (p. 104). The former of these propositions is the original thesis to be proved, and the chapter on "opposition" certainly makes the thesis no more probable. As I understand Tarde's claim,

¹This seems to be the import of a passage on p. 134, the implications of which are utterly arbitrary, viz.: "We must avoid confounding, as is so often done, the *progress of instruction*, a simple fact of imitation, with the *progress of science*, a fact of adaptation; or the progress of industrialism with the progress of industry itself; or the progress of morality with the progress of moral theory; or the progress of militarism with progress of the military art; or the progress of language—*i. e.*, its territorial spread—with the progress of language in the sense of refinement of its grammar and the enrichment of its dictionary." This passage will be referred to below.

it would be expressed in the concrete: "Charles the First was the latest term of one series of imitations; Cromwell the latest term of another series; the Restoration, or the Act of Settlement, the accommodation or 'adaptation' of the two." Or "Bourbonism was the end term of one series of imitations; Jacobinism of another; Bonapartism their 'adaptation.'" Of the claim thus expressed, we may say, without much risk: first, if any historian believes that either the Stuarts, or the Puritans, or the Bourbons, or the Jacobins can be disposed of in terms of "imitation," he would confer a favor upon the sociologists by making himself known; second, even assuming that the primary thesis were established, the formulation thus far does more to raise the hypothesis of an undetected factor in the process of "adaptation" than to satisfy the mind with the simple factor "imitation." In other words, to recur to the last illustration, Tarde's own argument has the effect of provoking the presumption that a something, which we may call Napoleonism, was a real coördinating factor in the reaction between Bourbonism and Jacobinism. Tarde's own argument seems, therefore, to make rather toward a conclusion more like Baldwin's, viz., a "dialectic of social growth" (*Social and Ethical Interpretations*, p. 543). He has not yet made it credible either that "imitation" is the sum and substance of both thesis and antithesis, or that "imitation" is the combining agency by force of which the synthesis, or equilibrated social status, results.

In chap. 3, "The Adaptation of Phenomena," the author describes *adaptation* as a condition of the elements composing an aggregate. It is of two degrees: first, that presented by the relations of the component elements of an aggregate to each other; second, that which unites these elements to the systems in which they are contained, or, in a word, to the environment (p. 117). "Adjustment within itself differs very greatly in every order of facts, from adjustment to external conditions; just as repetition of self (habit) differs from repetition of others (heredity or imitation), as opposition within the self (hesitation, doubt) differs from opposition to others (conflict, competition.)" All science is progressive endeavor to think the adjustment actually given in the portion of reality contemplated (p. 118). This is true of sociology, from its first forms in theology (p. 123), through its forms as philosophy of history, down to the evolutionary sociologists (p. 124). At this point Tarde brings the following indictment against the evolutionists: "The same error always reappears in their method, viz., they believe that in order to discover

regularity, order, logical progress, in the facts of society, the details must be left behind, because they are essentially irregular. A very high point of outlook must be taken so as to bring vast wholes within a panoramic view. It is assumed at the same time that the principle and source of all social coördination resides in some very general fact, whence it percolates by degrees and in progressive dilutions down into particular facts. In a word, man is carried along by a law of evolution within the action of which his initiative is only apparent" (p. 125). Tarde declares, on the contrary, that close adaptations are to be found only in the details of human facts; that the farther we go from the small and closely knit social group — from the family, school, workshop, congregation, convent, regiment — to city, province, nation, the less perfect and striking is the solidarity. At this point, again (p. 127), it seems to me that in recording a correct observation — viz., "civilization is characterized by the facilities which it offers for the realization of an individual programme of social reorganization" — Tarde points toward the very facts which will presently compel radical restatement of his hypothesis. This is still more evident a little later, when he says (p. 129): "We must look for elementary social adaptation in the brain itself, in the individual genius of the inventor. Invention — I mean that which is destined to be imitated, for that which remains shut up in the mind of its author does not count socially — invention is a harmony of ideas which is the mother of all the harmonies of men." In all this Tarde is dealing with factors in the situation with which his own thesis in its present form is irreconcilable. He is refuting himself. Tarde has done most notable service in calling attention to the function of imitation. His service ends when he attempts to make us believe that imitation is the social *factotum*. We may admit that "at each cerebral alliance of two inventions in a third, imitation is involved" (p. 133), but it is equally clear — or more so — that, as Tarde declares on the following page, "these two progressions — the imitative and the inventive — are continually interlaced." The logical categories, "repetition," "opposition," "adaptation," give no license to assign rank and importance to one of these factors to the prejudice of the other. It is sheer dogmatism to imply (as in the passage quoted above from p. 134) that invention is simply and solely a function of imitation. The presumption is decidedly against it. Imitation is evidently a factor in the social reaction, and we must assign it due value. But variation, as Tarde himself is compelled to advertise, is a constant social phenomenon. Masking it

under the term adaptation does not change the reality, nor diminish the probability that something quite as radical as imitation gets in its work when a variation is produced. What that something is need not now be asked. In trying to show that imitation is the one essential social process, Tarde has, in spite of himself, made it more evident that imitation is not the only essential social factor.

It ought to be evident by this time to every intelligent sociologist that "imitation" is but one among the unnumbered terms of the multiple working hypothesis which is marking out promising lines of social research.

In spite of M. Tarde's earnest harking back to the minute realities, his reasoning seems to be based at last on a realism that attributes efficient functioning force to abstract ideas. This appears in the closing sentence of the book: "The mutual harmonies of our three terms, repetition, opposition, adaptation, are easily intelligible when we consider progressive repetition as functioning in the service of the adaptation which it extends and develops, in favor sometimes of the opposition which it also conditions. We may also believe that all three labor together for the extension of universal variation under individual and personal forms of the highest order."

ALBION W. SMALL.

Manuel de bibliographie générale (Bibliotheca bibliographica nova).

Par HENRI STEIN. Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1898.

Pp. 20 + 895, large 8vo. (Manuels de bibliographie historique, II.)

THIS book comes of good antecedents. Its author, M. Henri Stein, is editor of *Le bibliographie moderne*, the French organ for the advancement of the science of bibliography, and of *Polybiblion*, which is doing more than any other periodical in France, or in the world, probably, to exploit the whole field of current bibliography. M. Stein was coeditor with M. C. V. Langlois of *Les archives de l'histoire de France*, published in 1891-3, which forms the first volume in the series of "Manuels de bibliographie historique," and which has been highly commended. M. Langlois, the coworker of M. Stein, published in 1896 *Manuel de bibliographie historique*, which, though a small book, is packed with valuable information well digested, arranged, and indexed as to general bibliographical works and the bibliography

of European history. M. Stein in his introduction claims to have profited by the mistakes of his immediate predecessor in the field of the bibliography of bibliographies, M. Léon Vallée, whose *Bibliographie des bibliographies*, in spite of its omissions and questionable arrangement, has continued to be of great assistance to workers in libraries. Lastly and most important of all, the author claims that the manual under review is a continuation and revision to date of Petzholdt's *Bibliotheca bibliographica*, which has been generally admitted by bibliographers to be the most profound work yet published on the bibliography of bibliographies. We have a right, then, to expect much from M. Stein.

The title is somewhat misleading. The book contains titles not only of general bibliographical works, but also of special bibliographies which deal with the literature pertaining to all the arts and sciences. Moreover, it lists, in addition to bibliographies proper, books which contain valuable bibliographical matter in any quantity from two pages up.

The matter contained in the body of the work is divided by M. Stein into the following main divisions, with as many subdivisions as occasion requires: (1) bibliographies universelles, (2) bibliographies nationales, (3) sciences religieuses, (4) sciences philosophiques, (5) sciences juridiques, (6) sciences économiques et sociales, (7) sciences pédagogiques, (8) sciences pures, (9) sciences appliquées, (10) sciences médicales, (11) philologie et belles-lettres, (12) sciences géographiques, (13) sciences historiques, (14) sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire, (15) archéologie et beaux-arts, (16) musique, (17) biographie. This classification of the field of literature agrees in the main with the classifications current in French bibliographical publications. It differs a great deal from Petzholdt's classification, and seems to be no better and no worse than a dozen other schemes of division which one might name.

Following these seventeen main divisions, which constitute the body of the work, we find three long appendices, a supplement, and an index.

The supplement contains a list of such bibliographical books as have appeared while the manual was passing through the press, and also such of an earlier date as were omitted by accident. The introduction to the book is dated December 31, 1896, but a great many works published in 1896 appear in the supplement. It also contains all books listed of date 1897 and a few of date 1898. It is unfortunate that the main lists were closed so long before the work was finally

issued. The titles of many works are to be found in the appendix, the most recent, of course, and the most valuable in other respects. For example: Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion*, with its valuable bibliographies; *L'année philosophique*, Stammhammer's *Bibliographie der Social-Politik*, Monroe's *Bibliography of Education*, Poole's *Index*, Campbell's *Index Catalogue of Works Relating to India*, Brook's *Bibliography of Municipal Government*, Galey and Scott's *Guide to the Literature of Aesthetics*, Henshaw's *Bibliography of American Economic Entomology*, etc. Users of the index will do well to refer to the supplement in nearly every case. Such reference is facilitated by numbering each entry in the index with the page on which the item would have occurred if included in the body of the work.

The first appendix is devoted to a "Systematic list of all the localities in the world which possessed a printing establishment before the nineteenth century;" the second to a "List of the general indexes to periodicals in every language;" the third to a "List of the catalogues of printed books in the principal libraries of the world."

Unquestionably these supplements contain valuable matter. I do not remember to have seen anywhere lists of places of publication, periodical indexes, or library catalogues which can approach them in completeness. The antiquarian bookseller, librarian, and cataloguer will make full use of these appendices and thank M. Stein most heartily. But, for all that, the worker in practical bibliography, for whom the book is, according to the introduction, more especially intended, will regret that so much space was used for these appendices, occupying, as they do, about one-quarter of the book.

Inasmuch as the book is not so large as Petzholdt's *Bibliotheca bibliographica*, and not nearly so compactly printed, one's curiosity is properly aroused to know how the author manages to add the bibliographies that have appeared since Petzholdt published his work in 1866, and still have room to spare for appendices. The author's policy is clearly stated in the introduction. "Every bibliography which has become old and useless has been systematically discarded. What good can come of swelling the size of a book with references which only lead the reader astray and cause him to lose time that might be employed to much better advantage? . . . All the explanatory notes in the text have been reduced to the lowest terms, and their brevity contrasts singularly with the long dissertations of Petzholdt which have appeared to me useless and, in general, little read. . . . The

remarkable publications are always indicated by detailed and favorable notice ; as for the *publications détestables*, they have been purely and simply passed by in silence."

The policy announced in the introduction seems to have been in general carried out through the book. No one would ever suspect, from consulting the lists, that such persons as Power, Sabine, Petzholdt, Vallée, Ottino, and Fumagali had lived and had written bibliographies of bibliographies. This policy must be responsible for the omission from the lists of bio-bibliographical works of Michaud's *Biographie universel* and the inclusion of Hoefer's *Nouvelle biographie générale*. Can it also be responsible for the omission of Sabine's *Bibliotheca Americana*, of Lalor's *Cyclopædia of Political Science*, of McCulloch's *Literature of Political Economy*, and many other useful works that might be mentioned ?

This policy of throwing out books because later books have appeared in the same general field I maintain is all wrong. In the libraries of Paris, with its Bibliothèque Nationale of two million volumes, and its secondary libraries aggregating two million more, it may be proper to help the reader by putting only the latest bibliographies within his reach ; but Paris is not the world, and probably not France, in this respect. Most of us are troubled with too few bibliographies, rather than too many. Not all libraries can afford to buy all the bibliographical works they would like. If they cannot have the latest, is this any reason why their readers ought not to be referred to one that is nearly as late and nearly as good ? Besides, it requires the most careful comparison of two works to be able to decide with justice that one work does entirely replace another. Take the case of Hoefer and Michaud, mentioned above. Granted that Hoefer is a little later than the second edition of Michaud, and that the concise bibliographical references appended to the articles in Hoefer do contain substantially all the references mentioned in Michaud, can M. Stein deny that the running comments which accompany the references in Michaud are in many cases very suggestive ? He surely would be one of the last to admit that bibliography stops with a mere listing of the title, else he ought in strict logic to suspend further publication of the "Partie littéraire" of *Polybiblion*.

It also appears from the passage quoted, and the lists confirm it, that the manual is not Petzholdt brought to date. To me it seems that the best part of Petzholdt is left out. M. Stein has doubtless lived in an atmosphere saturated with bibliographical information for

so long that he has little use for the long characterizations of Petzholdt. But if he were compelled to acquire a rational knowledge of bibliography at short notice, and often to bridge over gaps in the field caused by inability to get and become familiar with certain books, I am sure he would appreciate Petzholdt's long and careful discussions. No one would be able to learn from Stein's manual what the London catalogue is, which is liable to be met with in half a dozen different forms in as many different libraries, all of different appearance and covering different periods. Petzholdt uses a page for it, but he sets the tangle straight.

As to the last point of policy stated in the passage quoted, I cannot believe that the author is consistent. Hoefler gets no word of commendation, and surely he is not "detestable." The same is true of Winsor's *Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution*, Channing and Hart's *Guide to the Study of American History*, and any number of bibliographies which appear in the lists without characterization.

Considering the influence that the policy above discussed might have in limiting the number of bibliographies listed, I do not find many omissions which would be called serious in a library which had nearly all those included, but in case a library has but two or three in a certain field, if one or two of those are omitted it becomes a serious matter. I believe that at least nine out of ten libraries will fall in the latter class.

In the list of national bibliographies I am surprised to find Hinrich's *Halbjahrskatalog* missing. It is included in Petzholdt's and Langlois's lists, and is generally regarded as one of the most useful tools of the trade. How does M. Stein manage to get along without it? The London catalogue is omitted entirely, leaving no regular list to cover the years 1824-35. True, it is a poor catalogue, but it does cover the ground after a fashion. The American catalogue edited by Leypoldt and his successors should count five volumes all told, and not four; while Kelly is credited with six volumes instead of two, the proper number. The list of national bibliographies is, on the whole, however, very satisfactory and the number of countries covered surprisingly large.

In the social sciences I notice various omissions which might certainly as well be included as many that are included. Examples are: Rand's *Bibliography of Political Economy*; Tolman's *Handbook of Sociological Information*; Bowker and Iles' *Reader's Guide in Economic*,

Social, and Political Science; Charlemagne Tower, *Collection of American Colonial Laws*; *Catalogue of the Hopkins Railway Library*; Gross' *Bibliography of British Municipal History*.

Numerous real or apparent oddities of classification appear. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage* under "sciences philosophiques" is an example.

Typographical errors and minor errors of fact are quite common; e. g., Palsgrave for Palgrave, p. 114; Strikles for Strikes, p. 126; Baltimore, 1890, for Chicago, 1895, in date and place of publication of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, p. 116.

The index which concludes the work is very full, occupying ninety pages. That is, it is full as to subject entries, but author and title entries are entirely wanting. What led the author to omit these is more than I can imagine. Petzholdt and Langlois have author entries in the index, and Vallée's main arrangement is by authors. All users of these books will, I am sure, agree that the ability to refer at once to a certain bibliography is very desirable. Granted that the book will be referred to nine times out of ten by subject, what is the harm of providing for the tenth time? Lack of space would be the natural excuse. But how can this be put forward consistently when the space that might have been used for author and title entries has been used for indexing names of places having printing establishments, which were already alphabetically arranged in one list and are of use only to specialists?

The author, I claim, is guilty of another minor sin in neglecting to provide for a short symmetrical table of contents. He does, indeed, give us an outline of main divisions and subdivisions in the middle of the introduction, but many will never find it, and when found it is of not much use, for there are no page references.

It seems to me a great pity that M. Stein did not conclude to take all the space that was necessary to really bring Petzholdt down to date, to include all the bibliographies, full characterizations of them, and the valuable appendices as well. Two volumes would probably have sufficed, and few who really appreciate such work would have begrudged him three. For, after enumerating the serious faults in the work, I am in justice compelled to say that the work is today, for the bibliographer and reference librarian, the most valuable single-volume reference book in existence.

C. H. HASTINGS.

Social Elements, Institutions, Character, Progress. By CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. vi + 405.

THIS book is divided into several parts, each part being, in some sense, introductory to the next following part:

Part I, "Basis of Society in Nature."

Part II, "The Social Person."

Part III, "Social Institutions."

Part IV, "Social Psychology, Order, and Progress." An appendix gives directions for local studies, maps, and topics for discussion.

Those who had read carefully the works previously published by Dr. Henderson were prepared, when the present volume was announced, to expect a book of great interest and value. In this expectation they will not be disappointed, even though they should be constrained occasionally to place an interrogation point after some statement of the author, for the purpose of giving it further consideration. The work, as the writer says, has been prepared both for ordinary readers, many of whom care for little more than a surface knowledge of a subject, and also for students, including teachers, who are, as a rule, seeking to get at the real truth. The adoption of the book by the *Indiana Teachers' Reading Circle* indicates that it is intended to meet the wants of teachers of common schools, a class of persons who, more than any others, excepting possibly parents, have occasion to make use, in their daily labors, of practical facts such as are discussed in this treatise. The book will, consequently, be especially valued on account of its adaptation to educational purposes. The introduction states very clearly the field of study and the means of learning the facts to which attention is to be directed. The order and arrangement of the matter conform admirably to the principles of pedagogy and the general laws of teaching. Any intelligent instructor will be able to follow readily the steps and progress of the discussion. The purpose of this article is chiefly to notice the happy application of some of these principles.

It is agreed by all experienced students of pedagogy that the child, and indeed the more advanced learner, must begin, in the investigation of any complex subject, with the near-at-hand and with the concrete. If the world is to be studied, one should commence with his own home, his neighborhood, his immediate surroundings. If a principle is to be easily and thoroughly comprehended, it must be seen embodied in some institution or some mode of living. Dr. Henderson well says:

"All journeys and all voyages must start from home." "The right method is to proceed from the present to the past." Not only is the past to be learned by starting from the present, but the future must be predicted in the same way. "The order we know must have in itself the germs of the coming order, since life cannot arise out of nothing."

In treating of the physical basis of society, the author has avoided the error of making nature everything. The child becomes acquainted with humanity before he becomes acquainted with what we call nature. Nature has value and meaning only as it comes into contact with humanity. In the discussion of the social person, an important truth is well stated: "There is no social mental experience outside of individuals. There is no social brain or consciousness apart from the separate brains and inner lives of the millions of individuals who compose the race." The social institutions are presented in the natural order—the home, the family, and later the auxiliary institutions. The discussion of the social arts, both the useful and the fine, and the treatment of industrial organizations have especial practical value, not only for teachers, but for all workers in the social field.

The chapter on the tendency toward "Economic Betterment" gives a mass of most interesting matter, which appears to justify the position of Dr. Henderson, although he evidently anticipates a questioning of the correctness of his assumptions. It is true, or seems to be, that "The great majority of the population of civilized lands have made progress in the possession and enjoyment of the resources of the best existence." To teachers the discussions of topics relating to "Economic Betterment" are of the very highest value. The extent of meaning attached to the idea of "social movement" will naturally incite careful thinking. It is doubtless true, though not generally accepted, that "It is not increasing poverty and depressing pauperism and desperate misery which incite social unrest and discontent, so much as it is the taste of better means of living. The poor are not growing poorer, but richer," etc. To both the parent and the teacher the following conclusion in the chapter on social misery presents food for thought: "The most encouraging and necessary effort is that directed to the proper education of wayward youth. Prevention is the true policy of nations. . . . Education, mental, moral, and spiritual, is the chief means of restoring the wanderer, and it is the only way of turning childhood and youth from the downward path to ruin."

Space permits only a brief reference to the chapters on "The

School" and its social service, and on "Religion and the Church." They are both particularly valuable to teachers and managers of schools, as is also the discussion of the "Problems of Social Psychology," and the succeeding chapters. It is a matter of congratulation that a book of this kind has been written by a man who believes in the existence and importance of the spiritual element in human nature, and is not afraid to speak of the church and religion; and to say, after treating nature studies most generously, "But the environment in which the citizens are living is not merely the physical world about us. Physical science is not the only science which deals with reality. Unless we actually identify physiology and psychology, matter and mind, and beg the whole question of materialism, there is still nearer to us than nature a world of spirit, of thinking beings."

The teachers of Indiana are very fortunate in having this book upon their reading list. The suggestions, in the preface, to students as to the manner of using the work, and the directions, in the appendix, for local studies, are of great practical value. Readers cannot do better than to adopt and follow the order of "topics for papers and discussions" given for the successive chapters, making use of maps and charts of their own immediate neighborhood, prepared by themselves.

DANIEL PUTNAM.

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La guerre et ses prétendus bienfaits. Par J. NOVICOW. Paris: Armand Colin et C^e, 1898. Pp. 198.

THIS work has a double claim to attention: in the first place, because the writer is already well known as the author of *La politique internationale*, *Les luttes entre les sociétés humaines*, and *Conscience et volonté sociales*; secondly, because the book covers, in brief compass, practically the entire field of discussion as to the causes and results of war. This will appear most clearly from an inspection of the table of contents, which is here transcribed:

- I. "La guerre considérée comme fin."
- II. "Le raisonnement unilatéral."
- III. "La guerre est une solution."
- IV. "Résultats physiologiques."
- V. "Résultats économiques."
- VI. "Résultats politiques."

- VII. "Résultats intellectuels."
- VIII. "Résultats moraux."
- IX. "Survivances, routines et sophismes."
- X. "La psychologie de la guerre."
- XI. "La guerre considérée comme forme unique de la lutte."
- XII. "Les théoriciens de la force brutale."
- XIII. "Synthèses de l'antagonisme et de la solidarité."

The author is an impassioned advocate of universal peace, and in this work vigorously attacks the arguments advanced by those who believe war beneficial, or at any rate unavoidable, paying special attention to the book entitled *Ueber Krieg, Frieden und Cultur*, by Max Jähns.² In spite of the brevity caused by the treatment of so many topics, the book is very clear and vigorous in style, entertaining, full of keen observation and persuasive argumentation. The criticism is particularly sharp and telling when directed against what M. Novicow calls the "raisonnement unilatéral" of his opponents. For example, nothing could be better than his exposure of the logical error committed by those who defend war as an end in itself, whereas it has never been more than a means; or extol the virtues produced by successful warfare, but are silent concerning the vices engendered by servitude; or laud the glory of a war in defense of country, but say nothing of the dishonor involved in wanton aggression: forgetting that a conqueror implies a conquered, and that a defender presupposes an aggressor.

But in spite of these merits, the reader is at times conscious of a feeling of disappointment, not because he has received little, but because he had expected more. Slips in historical statements are rather frequent: *e. g.*, on p. 146 occurs this statement, "Auguste ferma le *premier* le temple de Janus." The argument is not strengthened by the frequent use of strong language: *e. g.*, Bismarck is *ce hobereau*; Roon, Moltke, and Bismarck are *les trois copains*; war is always murder, massacre, or collective assassination; force is always brutal, etc., etc. Consistency is sometimes cast to the winds, as on p. 94, where we read: ". . . Si la France renonçait à l'Alsace-Lorraine, elle aurait bientôt le sort de la Pologne. Les Français (et tous les autres peuples) doivent revendiquer leurs droits jusqu'à la dernière goutte de leur sang." Inasmuch as opinions differ, radically and permanently, as to the rights of the several nations, this declaration would appear to make an end of the argument for universal peace. There is frequently

² Berlin, 1893.

an air of artificiality about the treatment of political affairs which reminds one irresistibly of Rousseau and the atomistic social philosophy of the eighteenth century: *e. g.*, "Le bien-être des hommes n'est pas en fonction des divisions politiques. Que l'Europe soit partagée en dix états ou en cinquante, elle ne sera pour cela ni plus civilisée, ni plus barbare" (p. 71). And, finally, there are not wanting examples of the "one-sided reasoning" with which M. Novicow charges his opponents. Thus he argues that because questions still remain which threaten war, therefore the eight thousand wars of the past have all settled nothing; and also that because the smaller states have opposed political consolidation by war, therefore war has never consolidated great states. Such arguments are surely rather ingenious than convincing.

After proving, to his own satisfaction, that war is, and always has been, an unmitigated evil, in every respect, M. Novicow finds himself confronted with this question: Why is it, then, that war still continues, and that men are still found to defend it? His answer is brief and to the point: War continues from force of habit (*routine*), and men defend it because they have confused it with competition in general (*la lutte*). The discussion of this proposition is one of the most original and suggestive parts of the book.

The last two chapters contain a polemic against the theories advanced by Gumplowicz in *Der Rassenkampf*, and, at the end, an eloquent plea for peace. But unfortunately, the "Synthèse de l'antagonisme et de la solidarité" proves to be metaphysical to a degree, and we are left in the dark as to the means by which peace is to be obtained and maintained.

EDWARD VAN DYKE ROBINSON.

ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century. By WERNER LOMBART, Professor in the University of Breslau. Translated by Anson P. Atterbury; introduction by Professor John B. Clark. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898. Pp. xvii + 199.

THIS volume of public addresses gives the most significant elements of socialism without burdening the page with minor details. The author regards socialism as the most significant form of proletarian struggle for recognition, power, and material well-being. The class is

itself the product of the capitalistic system of industry; and the attempt of this class to maintain its place and advance its interests is not the result of agitation, but of inherited social conditions. No ruling class ever made concessions to the lower classes out of philanthropy, but only when urged by powerful pressure. The economic doctrines of Karl Marx, in relation to "surplus value," are abandoned; but his claim to recognition rests on his exposition of the historic conception of the social movement, and the inner relationship of the economic, social, and political manifestations and precedents. He showed most clearly that the social movement is toward the communization of the means of production, and its way is the struggle between classes. The author is in manifest sympathy with these views of history; only he urges legal methods and freedom from vindictiveness in the combats of classes. The synchronistic table of events in the movement from 1750 to 1896 is a valuable feature of the work.

C. R. H.

Annual Report (31st) of the State Board of Charities for the Year 1897. Two volumes. New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co. Pp. 1190 + 926.

THESE two volumes are for the student of public charities a genuine contribution to knowledge. They deal with the complex system of relief in a great and highly developed state. The facts are presented in a clear order, and the discussions are written by persons of experience and ability. The articles on civil-service examination, placing-out bills, dispensaries, custody of the feeble-minded, and the various reports on particular institutions constitute a mine of information. It is worth while for a rich state to publish this material for practical and theoretical students and workers.

C. R. H.

Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie. Tome IV. Contenant les travaux du troisième congrès tenu à Paris en juillet 1897. Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière, 1898. Pp. 589. F. 10.

THE general secretary of the "Institute," the editor of this volume, evidently thinks that the session of which it is a report was the most successful of the three thus far held. It does not strike me that the

intrinsic weight of the papers and discussions justifies this estimate. It is quite credible, however, that the discussions were "more animated" than at the previous sessions. The chief interest centered about "the organic theory of societies." Our French friends—including all the gentlemen who took part in the debate—are passing through a stage of thinking on this subject which Americans interested in the matter emerged from two or three years ago. It would hardly be possible to arouse American sociologists to very lively controversy over what remains in dispute. The men among us who make most use of the organic concept are satisfied that their opponents disagree with them only verbally, so far as the essential idea is concerned. Beyond that there remain merely differences of judgment about details in employing the concept. Since these differences relate to details and not to essentials, even the most zealous friends of the organic concept are satisfied that it can now take care of itself. They are content to assume that it is taken for granted, and their interest is transferred to other fields. They will hardly care to join the members of the "Institute" in threshing the old straw.

The remarks upon the principal papers are epitomized in the report. The leading contents are as follows:

"La définition de la sociologie," L. Stein.

"Le cerveau individuel et le cerveau social," R. Garofalo.

"L'économie de la douleur et l'économie du plaisir," Lester F. Ward.

"L'importance sociologique des études économiques sur les colonies," Achille Loria.

"La théorie organique des sociétés," J. Novicow, P. de Liliensfeld, G. Tarde, C. de Kranz, L. Stein, René Worms, S. R. Steinmetz, C. N. Starcke, R. Garofalo, Ch. Limousin, N. Karéiev, A. Espinas.

"Les lois de l'évolution politique," C. N. Starcke.

"Les sélections corollaires," S. R. Steinmetz.

"L'évolution de l'idée de monarchie," Raoul de la Grasserie.

"La mission de la justice criminelle dans l'avenir," Pedro Dorado.

"L'obligation sociale de l'assistance," Alfred Lambert.

"L'expérimentation en sociologie," René Worms.

"La science comme fonction de la société," Fr. Giner de los Rios.

A. W. S.

Congressional Committees. By LAUROS G. MCCONACHIE, PH.D.
(Library of Economics and Politics.) New York: Thomas
Y. Crowell & Co., 1898. Pp. xiv+441, 12mo.

THIS is a painstaking and exhaustive treatise introductory to the general thesis. Dr. McConachie has traced the evolution of the com-

mittee system in the colonies and provisional governments prior to the establishment of the federal constitution. After showing the relation of the congressional committee to the government and to the interests of the people, he takes up its development in the house and senate separately. While the author has not given special emphasis to the economic importance of such study, his standpoint being one of political science, the investigation may well be utilized by the student of economics. Government today, more than at any other time in the development of political institutions, has taken on an industrial and economic aspect. Its basis, the conservation of the general welfare, is economic. Every new decree is inaugurated, every modification is made, with this in view. The gradual development of new industrial functions, managed or controlled by the political organization, has brought the institutions of government more forcibly within the notice of the economist. The economic interest of the individual members of society is being worked out in the political organization. A study of the economic institutions of today must of necessity include government. The thesis of the author may be regarded as being the adaptation of the committee system to the economic interests of the people organized in the state.

F. A. C.

The Study of Man. By ALFRED C. HADDON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Bliss, Sands & Co., 1898. The Science Series, Vol. I. Pp. xxv + 410, 8vo. \$2.

KEEPING strictly within the limits which the author himself marks out, this little book — *The Study of Man* — is a success. It is not intended for the specialist, not even for the student, but for the amateur and "the intelligent reader." It is a series of popular discussions of some of the subjects studied by the anthropologist, intended to show their importance and treatment. The work naturally presents chiefly the work of other students, but in the latter half Professor Haddon presents considerable of his own investigations into the meaning of children's games and toys. This part of the book appears to be a series of popular lectures and presents a fair degree of connectedness in developing a single line of research. Mr. Haddon's book may be expected to give "outsiders" an interest in and appreciation of the work of the anthropologist which may prove helpful.

F. S.

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

Very instructive notices of the family care of certain classes of the harmless insane are given by Dr. J. A. Peeters, medical director of the Colony of Gheel, Belgium, in two papers: "La situation actuelle de la Colonie de Gheel" (1895), and "L'assistance et le classement des aliénés dans d'autres pays" (1898).

The Unit of Investigation in Sociology.— Apart from difficulties due to inadequate and inaccurate terminology, sociology suffers most at the present time from lack of unity in its subject-matter. Sociologists could much better risk the dangers of dissensions among themselves by coming closer together and dealing with the same subject-matter than they can afford the consequences of the present isolated efforts in building up corners of a far-too-greatly-generalized science. The adoption of the cell in biology and of the sensation in psychology as the definitely recognized unit of consideration has resulted in more systematic and better coordinated knowledge in those sciences. Is it possible to find in the data of sociology any constantly recurring factor in the socializing process which is fundamental to the concept of society in all stages of development, and which therefore can be regarded as a unit of investigation, consideration, and reference for all truly sociological data? I propose to examine briefly one such unit, which I will call *the social imperative*, and to contrast it from the point of view of its utility in sociological research with three other concepts, which are commonly used in the same way: viz., (1) the family; (2) the social man; (3) the social type. The social imperative is the modifying influence which makes the individual act differently in the presence of his fellow-man from the way in which he would probably act under the same circumstances if he were alone. It is the sum of the animate influences which modify individual action in the direction of social ends, though these influences in complex societies may be crystallized for the most part in institutions, customs, and laws. It is, in brief, the social "ought." Many sociologists have adopted the family as the unit of consideration in studying society. But this is an essentially mechanical concept. The concept of the social man is too vague to adopt as the unit of investigation, as the qualities which under all conditions and all forms of society would characterize the truly social individual cannot be determined. The social type as a unit of investigation may be objected to on similar grounds. In contrast with these three concepts the social imperative is a concept that brings us at once to the vital point in the examination of any group of social phenomena. To view the facts of social life as they relate to some social imperative, to measure the reactions of individuals both quantitatively and qualitatively in past and present history, and to study the nature of social imperatives through their analysis and classification, should be a chief aim of sociology.—SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, *Annals of the American Academy*, September, 1898.

The Socialistic Party of France in 1898.—The year 1898 marks an important step in the history of international socialism. In this year important elections were held in France, Belgium, and Germany. It is the aim of the socialistic party in all these countries to fight for modern political liberty denied and abandoned by the bourgeois party, which is reconciled with the reactionary party in the common hatred of socialism. While the socialistic parties of Germany and Belgium are compact blocks, that of France is split up into numerous organizations which not long ago were fighting among themselves. Besides these organizations are many propagandists of socialistic ideas, and a crowd of discontents and sentimentalists, often confounding agitation with fruitful action and demagoguery with democracy, who are called socialists, but are not such. Here are included the former followers of General Boulanger.

This regrettable confusion and the division of the party had a sad influence on the

deputies of the legislature of 1893-8: out of forty-seven deputies a dozen were always ready to scatter their vote. For the last two years dissensions have multiplied. They were due especially to the foreign question and the military question. Thus some of these so-called socialists vilified the government for the lukewarmness of its attitude toward Russia. Others claimed that to attack the army would arouse suspicion as to our patriotism. Finally the Dreyfus affair seemed about to lead to the full development of these useless disputes. The last campaign was remarkable for the spirit of solidarity and fraternal courtesy which reigned among the organizations formerly at rivalry. In 1898 French socialism made a most important advance: it attained unity. The number of votes for socialistic candidates as determined by the socialists themselves has almost doubled throughout the whole country since 1893, and the representation has been considerably increased. They had before them, too, a government ready to fight them by any means from calumny to physical violence, driving the electors from the polls. The most shameful electoral frauds were perpetrated in many provinces. Only when the socialistic candidate attained an overwhelming majority was he proclaimed elected. Universal suffrage is profoundly vitiated by the intervention of agents of the administration in the elections. It carries with it a load of interests which form a block in favor of the official candidate. It is especially in the country that its influence is great. The formidable administrative centralization of the country places immense influence in the hands of those in power. A man is easily frightened and menaced in his own security and that of his family. This year the government did its best to suppress socialism. The progress made by the socialists among the stubborn rural population is what is most remarkable about the general elections of 1898. Socialism this year has also overcome the capitalistic forces which were united for the assault.

The situation of the party was a delicate one: by uniting with the radicals it risked losing its identity; by fighting alone it risked losing the elections. These and many other difficulties were heroically overcome.—GUSTAVE ROUANE, *La Revue socialiste*, July, 1898.

Observations on the Problem of the Man of Genius and the Mass in History.—A reaction is taking place from the doctrines of Spencer, Lombroso, etc., toward those of Emerson and Carlyle. The truth is, as I hope to have demonstrated in my book, *De Historia y Arte* (on history and art), Madrid, 1898, that the case in favor of genius is not so absolute as was once erroneously supposed. The inquiry that ought to be made is not with the hope of systematically affirming or denying the influence of genius; but of examining the degree of influence of both the masses and the man of genius, and the law which governs the mutual influence and reaction between them. Almost all authors of our day who have treated the problem apparently agree in recognizing that there is a double force in history—genius and the mass. When one tries to determine the elements which genius furnishes, and which the crowd furnishes, the difficulty arises. Really thinkers are divided into two distinct schools: the first reduces the function of the mass to that of a simple executor of the orders of a man of genius; the second holds that genius is begot by the spirit of the times, which, being its original cause, even though genius is not entirely contained within the spirit of the times, supposes a certain intellectual collaboration on the part of the masses, which, though they do not at first receive the teaching of the great man, encourage his advance and are ready to second his efforts—the impulse which comes from its own representative ideal. The question is really a complex one. There is, first, the question, which is strictly the psychology of genius, which seeks to determine *what are the essential characteristics of genius itself*—a problem attempted by Lombroso and Nordau. Secondly, there is the study of the *genesis of the elements, intellectual or otherwise, which constitute genius*, embracing such questions as whether they are completely original or a synthesis of past or present thought. Thirdly, there is the question which seeks to determine *how genius acts upon the masses*. The confusion of the second and third questions accounts for most of the differences between writers on the subject. But it is at once clear that, whatever solution is given to the second, the third remains absolutely intact. Furthermore, the imperfect manner of stating the problem, and the lack of precision in the use of essential terms, are another source of confusion. The mass is not the same thing for all authors. Spencer means

by it the entire nation, or all humanity for a given epoch. Kidd, on the contrary, means a group of specialists. All authors, in reality, admit a mass of some kind, whatever they may call it, upon which genius depends. Another question has produced the greatest confusion. This is the value of the acts of single individuals. Daily experience shows that every social work is realized by the initiative of one or more individuals; and when this individual is absent, though the mass represented continues to exist, the work falls and dies. But the necessity of representation for the mass, it must be remembered, tells us nothing of the autonomy of the individual, of his originality and independence of the mass. Upon all the questions we have considered depends another of immense practical value: Given a man of genius, who exercises a special function in history and an undeniable influence, what is the cause of the efficiency of his action? Is it the energy of his personality which acts irresistibly on the mass? Is it a certain preparation which the mass has acquired for his efforts, which enables it to second his efforts, without which support his action would be unstable? The importance of such a question is enormous for practical life, and especially for law, for it involves the question: "Can one impose any idea, any action, upon a mass, holding it as amorphous, indifferent; or must one continually count on its psychological condition?"

If we proceed seriously, as science demands, we must believe that neither the state of social psychology nor of history permits us to give a definite answer. The question will be cleared up only after a minute and absolutely rigorous historical study. The problem is purely one of observation. Each people and each individual must be carefully studied.—*RAFAEL ALTAMIRA, Revue internationale de sociologie, June.*

The Recent History of the Living-Wage Movement.—In the early eighties the working classes were divided into three groups: (1) those whose wages were governed entirely by the law of supply and demand applied to the labor market; (2) those whose wages were determined in some fixed ratio to the price of the product; (3) an aristocracy of labor whose organization was so powerful, and whose strategic position in the labor market, owing to the possession of special skill, was so strong, that it was able to command a high rate of wages and to utilize the fluctuations of trade to its advantage. The great depression of 1886-87 coincided with an outburst of enthusiasm for social reform and economic inquiry, and the first great achievement of the new spirit was to determine that wages should be independent of competition in the labor market. The next point fought for was the principle that wages should not depend upon prices. As competition among workmen had been set aside, so competition among employers has ceased to be recognized as a reason for reduction of wages. Public opinion now concedes that wages should be a first charge on production.

The question of a living wage does not appeal directly to those workmen whose remuneration is high enough to enable them to dispense with care for the minimum limit of comfort. Their principal aim is to bring the backward districts up to the same wage level as the better-organized centers, and to protect the standard of life from attacks by machinery and from the pressure of the unemployed. The regulation of overtime and of machine labor are their burning questions, and the method of settlement will be found in the establishment of joint committees of employers and employés, with independent umpires. The minimum living wage must in any case be fixed by the workmen, and experience shows that public opinion will back up the workers. The claim constantly put forward by employers, that they have the right to manage their own businesses without outside interference, has been in every case set at naught; and the contrary principle has been established, that the community has the right to intervene in any dispute between capital and labor.—*HENRY W. MACROSTY, Political Science Quarterly, September, 1898.*

The Relation between Parents and Children among the Nature Peoples.—Unfortunately the relation of facts is always less simple than we think; the demand of our intellect for unity is often a little too strong. Especially in the realm of social science hasty conclusions are still the order of the day. One assumes something, not because it is so, because one has actually so observed it, but because it would agree so finely with something else. This is all very unscientific, but it suits our best thinkers

not seldom. Really we proceed still from the theory and seek facts merely for illustration. If one does otherwise, starts from the facts and goes no farther than they permit, then people are astonished that his result is not so beautifully rounded off, not so faultless, as their own fancies. That the latter, even if ever so consistent, harmonious, complete, are yet absolutely worthless, that does not appear to such people.

Bücher, for example, in his suggestive book *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* makes the following statement: "The psychical bond which binds children and parents to one another is but a fruit of civilization, and among the lower races the mere anxiety for self-existence outweighs all other emotions. Boundless selfishness is characteristic of the savage." I have undertaken a special investigation of this question of the relations of parent and children among the lower races, using a collection of notes made absolutely without regard to this question. I have divided my material into four groups. The first contains the cases of the absolute spoiling of children without any education at all; the second, those of rudimentary education without discipline; the third, those of harsh treatment with strict education; the fourth, the cases of neglect. Class I I found to contain 48 out of the 104 instances investigated; Class II, 31; Class III, 13; Class IV, 12. It is a very noteworthy result that the two first groups, characterized by great parental love, with little or no disciplining of the children, are by far the most numerous. These two groups have not been formed out of the higher nature peoples, but, on the contrary, contain all the unsettled tribes. Besides, the disciplining and neglecting classes belong to the lowest and the developed agriculturists and also to the nomads. I believe, therefore, to have established that the lowest peoples in the majority of cases, and certainly the unsettled peoples, love tenderly their little children, spoil, and do not discipline them.

I should not like to enter too deeply into the explanation of the established facts. On general biological grounds one might hold it probable that primitive men must love their children to whom they grant life, because otherwise the chances against the child's life would be too unfavorable. Confessedly the love of apes for their young is great, and a similar tenderness and care are necessary to men as long as they are in a hard and continual struggle with nature. Selectively this primitive child-love was unavoidable because necessary as instinct. This given instinct was strengthened through various circumstances. The long-continued nursing of the child among low peoples must have deepened the tenderness of the mother, while the very close living-together of primitive peoples worked in the same direction. Discipline was unnecessary, education superfluous, through the great simplicity of the conditions in which these children grew up. There was no priesthood as an organized corporation, with peculiar views, outside of the people. There were few rules, and hence few transgressions possible. In advanced conditions the number of rules increases, the organization of society becomes stricter, the economic and moral relations more complicated. Adaptation through education becomes indispensable, and at the same time, because the father must support the child out of his means, the child becomes much more dependent on the father. Education and discipline come in with the half-culture (*Halbkultur*) stage. Our riper culture is alarmed again at over-education and demands the free evolution of the childish nature, while the spoiling of children is again becoming customary in the higher circles. Thus is evident the incorrectness of the proposition that education proceeds with the growth of culture from original harshness to ever greater mildness. On the contrary, it began mild and has only now again become mild. — S. R. STEINMETZ, "Das Verhältniss zwischen Eltern und Kindern bei den Naturvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, August, 1898.

The Present Condition of Social Democracy in Germany.—Germany has become the classic land of modern socialism. The number of votes cast by the socialistic party has increased irresistibly, hand in hand with the industrial development of Germany. The party polled in the year 1871 124,700 votes; in 1874, 352,000; in 1877, 493,000; in 1884, 550,000; in 1887, 763,100; in 1890, 1,427,000; in 1893, 1,786,700. At the last election, that of June 16, 1898, the social democrats polled 2,120,000 votes. Thus they constitute by far the largest of the parties, having secured as much as one-fifth to one-third of all the votes polled in the election of 1893, and having increased this again by some 19 per cent. in the election of 1898. With proportional representation in Parliament the social democrats would have more

than one hundred out of the present 397 members elected. The center (the Catholic party) counts 102 of the 397 members of the Parliament; the two conservative parties have 74; the national liberals 50; and 56 belong to the social democrats; the remainder belong to the small parties.

The existing wide discrepancy between the popular strength of the social democracy and its representation in Parliament is in great part due to the fact that no redistribution of representatives has taken place since the foundation of the empire. Along with the rapid industrial development of Germany, the urban population, especially of the large cities, has increased out of all proportion to the rural population, and consequently the parliamentary representation of the urban population has constantly lost ground as compared with that of the rural districts. The bourgeois parties also combined against the social democrats in the by-elections, in more than 100 of which the party was interested. The watchword of the social democrats during the last campaign was dictated by the actions of the government and of the agrarian conservative parties. The social democrats made their strongest fight in defense of the electoral franchise, which was attacked more openly and ruthlessly than ever before during the last Parliament by the conservatives and national liberals. Another, more threatening, danger the social democratic platform calls attention to. The government is devising ways and means still further to abridge the right of combination, already hemmed in by all sorts of governmental and legal ordinances. The platform then turns against the colonial and naval policy, and finally defines the position of the party in regard to the commercial treaties. Nothing is included in this platform which could have been omitted from the platform of any middle-class democratic party. Social democracy stands at the head of every serious opposition to the feudal squirearchy, to absolutism, militarism, and to the rule of the police in Germany. Thus it shows, without prejudice to its proletarian socialistic aims, the tendency to develop into a universal people's party in Germany, which will be joined by all those liberal elements that are disgusted with the weakness and barrenness of middle-class liberalism. What stamps this party more properly as a social democratic party is its critical attitude toward the entire capitalistic order of society. An excellent and comprehensive picture of the whole past development of the socialistic party in Germany is offered in the now completed *History of the German Social Democracy*, by Dr. Franz Mehring.—CONRAD SCHMIDT, *Journal of Political Economy*, September, 1898.

Labor Crises and their Periods in the United States.—The quantitative study of the labor problem is a comparatively new department of economic science. It would be desirable to extend our investigation to other countries besides the United States, but a brief survey of what has been done abroad shows at once the insufficiency of our data. Labor disturbances occasion a very serious loss even compared with commercial failures. The employer agrees to pay a certain wage on the expectation that after selling his goods he will have left a profit. If he is disappointed he must either stop producing or reduce expenses by introducing new methods, increasing hours, cutting wages, or finding some other expedient. This process almost always involves injury to the wage receivers. If they refuse to accept his efforts, they strike. If strikes become general, we have a condition of things similar to commercial crises, viz., a group of people anxious to render services in return for wages and another group anxious to obtain those services and pay for them, but a failure to make the exchange on account of the difficulty of agreeing upon the terms. The immediate cause of strikes is not as a rule the break-down of credit, though it is often a remote cause. The best way to estimate the severity of strikes would be by the number of days' labor lost. The reports do not give this, so it is necessary to estimate it by multiplying the number of men striking by the average duration of strikes for the year. The labor crisis is not the result of a single cause, but depends for its recurrence and its character upon three main forces, two of which may be considered to be cyclical and the third constant. The two former are the commercial crisis and the labor movement. The constant force is the general economic condition of the country. Of these three the commercial crisis is probably the most important.—HENRY W. FARNAM, *Yale Review*, August, 1898.

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CONDUCTED BY C. H. HASTINGS.

NEW BOOKS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS REVIEWED.

Explanation. *Titles not starred* represent new publications announced in the standard publishers' lists since the last issue of the bibliography. A *star prefixed* to a title indicates that it was taken from a review of the work in the periodical cited after the title. It may or may not be a new announcement. The *arithmetical signs* following the citation to a review indicate the tenor of the review: X uncertain; +, favorable; -, unfavorable; +-, favorable, but with reservations; -+, unfavorable, but with commendation; ++, very favorable; --, very unfavorable; +-+, very favorable, but with reservations; -+-, very unfavorable, but with commendation. Absence of any sign indicates that review has not been read. The *publication date* when not given is understood to be the current year. *Prices quoted* are usually for volumes bound in cloth in the case of American and English books, in paper in the case of all others. *New editions, translations, and new periodicals* are bracketed.

Abbreviations. See at end of Bibliography.

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|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. | Arena. | JHS. | Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. |
| AA. | American Anthropologist. | JPE. | Journal of Political Economy. |
| AAC. | Archives d'anthropologie criminelle. | JNS. | Jahrbücher für National-Oekonomie und Statistik. |
| AAE. | Archivo per l'antropologia e la etnologia. | LC. | Literarisches Centralblatt. |
| AAP. | Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. | LG. | Labor Gazette. |
| AC. | L'Association catholique. | LoQR. | London Quarterly Review. |
| ACQ. | American Catholic Quarterly Review. | LQR. | Law Quarterly Review. |
| AEL. | Annals d'Ecole libre des sciences politiques. | MHM. | Mansfield House Magazine. |
| AGP. | Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie. | MIM. | Monatsschrift für innere Mission. |
| AHR. | American Historical Review. | MA. | Municipal Affairs. |
| AIS. | Annals de l'Institut de science sociale. | NA. | Nuova antologia. |
| AJP. | American Journal of Psychology. | NAR. | North American Review. |
| AJS. | American Journal of Sociology. | NC. | Nineteenth Century. |
| AJT. | American Journal of Theology. | NS. | Natural Science. |
| ALR. | American Law Register. | NT. | New Time. |
| ALRV. | American Law Review. | NW. | New World. |
| AMP. | Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Séances. | NZ. | Neue Zeit. |
| AOR. | Archiv für öffentliches Recht. | PhR. | Philosophical Review. |
| ASA. | American Statistical Association, Publications. | PSM. | Popular Science Monthly. |
| ASAr. | Allgemeine statistisches Archiv. | PSQ. | Political Science Quarterly. |
| ASG. | Archive für sociale Gesetzgebung und Statistik. | PsR. | Psychological Review. |
| ASP. | Archiv für systematische Philosophie. | QJE. | Quarterly Journal of Economics. |
| BDL. | Bulletin of the Department of Labor. | QR. | Quarterly Review. |
| BG. | Blätter für Gefängniskunde. | KBP. | Rivista beneficenza publica. |
| BML. | Banker's Magazine, London. | RCS. | Revue de christianisme sociale. |
| BMN. | Banker's Magazine, New York. | RDC. | Rivista di discipline carcerarie. |
| BOT. | Bulletin de l'Office du Travail. | RDI. | Revue de droit internationale. |
| BS. | Bibliotheca Sacra. | RDM. | Revue des deux mondes. |
| BSt. | Bulletin de statistique et de legislation comparée. | REA. | Revue mensuelle de l'Ecole d'anthropologie de Paris. |
| BUL. | Bulletin de l'Union internationale de droit pénale. | RéFS. | Réforme sociale. |
| C. | Cosmopolis. | ReS. | Revue socialiste. |
| ChOR. | Charity Organisation Review. | RH. | Revue historique. |
| ChR. | Charities Review. | RHD. | Revue d'histoire diplomatique. |
| CoR. | Contemporary Review. | RF. | Rivista italiana di filosofia. |
| DL. | Deutsche Literaturzeitung. | RIS. | Revue internationale de sociologie. |
| DR. | Deutsche Revue. | RiS. | Rivista italia na di sociologia. |
| DRu. | Deutsche Rundschau. | RISS. | Rivista internazionale di scienze sociali. |
| DS. | Devenir social. | RMM. | Revue métaphysique et de morale. |
| DZG. | Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft. | RP. | Revue philanthropique. |
| EcJ. | Economic Journal. | RPe. | Revue pénitentiaire. |
| EcR. | Economic Review. | RPh. | Revue philosophique. |
| EdR. | Educational Review. | RPP. | Revue politique et parlementaire. |
| EHR. | English Historical Review. | RRL. | Review of Reviews, London. |
| EM. | Engineering Magazine. | RRN. | Review of Reviews, New York. |
| F. | Forum. | RSC. | Revue sociale catholique. |
| FR. | Fortnightly Review. | RSI. | Revisita storica italiana. |
| GEc. | Giornale degli economisti. | RSP. | Revue sociale et politique. |
| GM. | Gunton's Magazine. | RT. | Revue du travail. |
| HLR. | Harvard Law Review. | S. | Sanitarian. |
| HN. | Humanité nouvelle. | SR. | School Review. |
| HR. | Hygienische Rundschau. | SS. | Science sociale. |
| HZ. | Historische Zeitschrift. | VWP. | Vierteljahrschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie. |
| IAE. | Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. | YR. | Yale Review. |
| IJE. | International Journal of Ethics. | ZE. | Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. |
| JAI. | Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. | ZGS. | Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaften. |
| JCB. | Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association. | ZPK. | Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik. |
| JEc. | Journal des économistes. | ZPO. | Zeitschrift für das private und öffentliche Recht. |
| JFI. | Journal of the Franklin Institute. | ZPP. | Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane. |
| JGV. | Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft. | ZS. | Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft. |
| | | ZVR. | Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft. |
| | | ZVS. | Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung. |

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